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GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS OF CODESWITCHING IN FARSI-ENGLISH  
BILINGUAL SPEECH: A CASE STUDY OF IRANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE  
UK

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University of Sussex

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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

**Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to:

- My supervisor, Dr Melanie Green who has provided me with guidance, reassurance, and support and who looked out for me when I went through the hardest time in my life. I wouldn't have been able to conduct this research without her supervision, insight and care.
- My beloved parents for their endless love, support and encouragement. I love you both to the moon and back.
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## Abstract

Since the 1970s, researchers have examined structural constraints on codeswitching in order to establish how typologically dissimilar languages interact in bilingual speech. This thesis explores grammatical aspects of code switching in Farsi-English bilingual speech, based on a case study of Iranian immigrants in Brighton, UK. The research addresses the following research questions:

1. To what extent does the Farsi-English data offer support for the idea that there is an asymmetric relationship between the two languages involved in codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1993)?
2. How do the grammatical components of the typologically dissimilar languages Farsi and English interact in bilingual speech?
3. Overall, which model of the structural aspects of code switching most accurately predicts the patterns found in the Farsi-English data?

Participants in this study were 20 Farsi-English bilinguals aged 18-30 resident in the UK for at least six years. Two types of data were collected: a questionnaire to establish linguistic and relevant non-linguistic backgrounds of the participants, and a dataset of bilingual utterances selectively transcribed from recordings of spontaneous conversation between participants.

The findings offer substantial evidence for asymmetry between the two languages, with Farsi functioning predominantly as the matrix language as a consequence of the unbalanced bilingual status of the participants. The vast majority of utterances containing codeswitches are characterised by Farsi word order and Farsi grammatical elements, establishing Farsi as the matrix language.

The findings also demonstrate that where the two languages have similar structures, codeswitching is unconstrained. In contrast, where the two languages differ in structure, Farsi as the matrix language determines the structure.

Finally, the findings also demonstrate that most existing models of codeswitching are wholly or partly inadequate in their predictions, and that with very few exceptions. I therefore suggest some revisions to these models, arriving at an approach that retains the assumption of asymmetry between the two languages, but

that less narrowly restricts the distribution of early and bridge late system grammatical morphemes..

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## List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
AUX	auxiliary
CLF	Farsi number classifier
DDO	definite direct object marker
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunctive
COMPR	comparative
COP	copular
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EZ	e-ezafe
FED	Farsi-English data
FOC	focus
IND	indefinite suffix
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INT	polar interrogative particle

IMPF	imperfective prefix ( <i>mi-</i> )
LVC	light verb construction
NEG	negation
O	object
PL	plural marker
POSS	possessive
PL	plural
PP	prepositional phrase
PRES	present participle
PRO	pronoun clitic
PST	past
PSTP	past participle
RELPRO	relative pronoun
S	subject
SG	singular
SBJV	subjunctive
SUPR	superlative
V	verb

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Codeswitching is a feature of bilingual or multilingual speech and is defined as the use of two or more languages within the same utterance or conversation. Research on codeswitching generally focuses on either sociolinguistic or structural perspectives. Sociolinguistic research into codeswitching concentrates on the social motivations for codeswitching, while structural perspectives concentrate on the structural similarities and differences between the languages involved, with a view to establishing how these structural features facilitate or constrain codeswitching in bilingual or multilingual speech. The present study focuses on the structural aspects of codeswitching in Farsi/English bilingual conversation.

Since the early 1980s, studies of the structural aspects of codeswitching involving various language pairs have been conducted, with two main contributions to the field. First, these studies allow generalisations to emerge concerning the structural factors that govern codeswitching cross-linguistically, and second, these studies have resulted in a number of different theoretical models of codeswitching. Well-known studies in this area include Poplack's (1980) study of Spanish-English, Bentahila and Davies's (1983) study of French-Arabic, Woolford's (1983) study of Spanish-English, DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh's (1986) study of Italian/French, Joshi's (1986) study of English-Marathi, Mahootian's (1993) study of Farsi/English, Myers-Scotton's (1993) study of Swahili-English, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio's (1994) study of Tunisian Arabic-French.

This study explores the grammatical aspects of codeswitching in Farsi/English bilingual conversation, based on a case-study of the speech of a group of Iranian immigrants in the UK city of Brighton. This language pair is particularly interesting because of the significant typological differences between Farsi, a head-final language, and English, a head-initial language.

## **1.2 Research questions and hypotheses**

The three research questions addressed in the present study are stated as follows:

RQ1: To what extent does the Farsi-English data offer support for the idea that there is an asymmetric relationship between the two languages involved in codeswitching (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016: 204).

RQ2: How do the grammatical components of the typologically dissimilar languages Farsi and English interact in bilingual speech?

RQ3: Overall, which model of the structural aspects of codeswitching reviewed in Chapter 4 most accurately predicts the patterns found in the Farsi-English data?

As the above research questions indicate, the present study has two main objectives: the first is to describe Farsi-English codeswitching, taking into account typological differences between the two languages, and the second is to explain Farsi-English codeswitching from the perspective of current codeswitching theories. Thus, RQ1 has both a descriptive focus and a theoretical focus, in the sense that it seeks to establish whether the Farsi-English data offers empirical support for Matrix Language Hypothesis (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016: 204), the idea that codeswitching often involves an asymmetry between the two languages involved, where one language (the matrix language) governs the structure of the bilingual utterance.

RQ2 has a descriptive focus, in that it seeks to establish, independently of any theory, how codeswitching works in Farsi-English bilingual speech. Finally, RQ3 has a theoretical focus in that it seeks to establish how well existing theories of codeswitching explain the descriptive findings of the present study.

In relation to the above research questions, the following hypotheses can be stated:

H1: Due to the nature of the participants in my study, who are unbalanced bilinguals, I hypothesise that the data will support the claims in the literature that there is an asymmetric relationship between the two languages involved in codeswitching, and that Farsi will function more frequently than English as the matrix language.

H2: I hypothesise that the grammatical constraints governing Farsi/English codeswitching correlate with the typological dissimilarities between the two languages.

H3: I hypothesise that the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993) will most accurately predict the patterns found in the Farsi-English data. However, the model may require some revision in order to fully account for the Farsi-English data.

### **1.3 Approach and methodology**

The approach in this study is descriptive-typological, in the sense that I do not seek from the outset to analyse the data from the perspective of any particular theoretical model of language knowledge (e.g. generative or cognitive), but rather to approach the data from a descriptive-typological perspective, setting out clearly the similarities and differences between these two languages and exploring how these features interact in bilingual speech. These findings are then explored from the perspective of a range of codeswitching models that assume both generative and non-generative underpinnings.

There are two types of data collection selected to achieve the objectives of this study. The first is a questionnaire in which the participants are asked questions regarding their linguistic and relevant non-linguistic backgrounds. The second is a dataset of selectively transcribed recordings of spontaneous conversation. This data is then coded and analysed quantitatively.

The participants in this study are 20 Farsi-English bilinguals, 11 females and 9 males, ranging in age from 18-30 years. All the participants were required to have lived in the UK more than 6 years. The data collected from these participants consists of recordings of spontaneous conversation. Participants were recorded interacting in pairs. Each conversation was transcribed in its entirety using Farsi orthography. All instances of utterances containing codeswitching were then extracted manually, using well-established guidelines for how to identify utterance boundaries. These utterances containing codeswitches were then transliterated into Roman script and grouped according to whether they contained codeswitches at the level of word, phrase or clause.

## 1.4 Findings

In regard to RQ1, as hypothesised, the FED offers substantial evidence for an asymmetry between the two languages involved in codeswitching, with Farsi functioning predominantly as the matrix language as a consequence of the participants for this study being unbalanced bilinguals. Evidence for Farsi as the matrix language comes not only from the fact that Farsi-only utterances outweigh English-only utterances in the corpus, but also from the fact that the vast majority of utterances containing codeswitches are characterised by Farsi word order and Farsi grammatical elements.

With respect to RQ2, which focuses on the description of how English and Farsi interact structurally, this was explored for single word open-class insertions. I hypothesised that any grammatical constraints governing Farsi/English codeswitching will correlate with the typological dissimilarities between the two languages (§5.2). Thus, I hypothesised that where the two languages have similar structures, codeswitching would be possible (regardless of any matrix language). In contrast, I hypothesised that where the two languages differ in structure, there may be constraints on codeswitching in the absence of a matrix language. Given that Farsi was established as the matrix language, what the FED in fact shows is that Farsi is dominant in terms of grammatical structure, and that therefore English single word insertions freely occur in Farsi word order and with Farsi bound grammatical morphemes, including bound pronouns.

However, there is one important exception to this generalisation: English verbs do not appear with Farsi verbal inflections. Instead, English bare infinitive verbs are inserted into Farsi LVCs, and the Farsi light verb carries the inflection. The main reason for this is that the Farsi verb does not have a simple root whose position can be occupied by an English verb stem. To this extent, the hypothesis that typological dissimilarity may constrain codeswitching receives support from the findings set out in this chapter.

In regard to the final research question, none of the models tested in this study were adequate to fully account for the FED. I conclude that the two most adequate models for predicting the FED are Mahootian's (1993) null theory and Myers-Scotton's (1993) matrix language model together with the 4M model developed by

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2016). However, both models incorrectly predict the absence of examples where the Farsi verb is followed by an English object. In addition, the null theory faced fewer counterexamples from the FED, but I argue that this model also fails to fully account for the data. This is because null theory over-generates by failing to account for the asymmetry between Farsi and English in the FED. While the matrix language/4M model fares better in this regard, it incorrectly predicts the absence of determiners and prepositions outside of embedded language islands, as well as adjective-noun order mediated by *e-ezafe*. I therefore suggest some revisions to these models, arriving at an approach that retains the assumption of asymmetry between the two languages, but that less narrowly restricts the distribution of early and bridge late system grammatical morphemes.

### **1.5 Contribution to the field**

This study makes three important contributions to the field. First, there has not to my knowledge been an in-depth investigation of Farsi-English codeswitching since Mahootian's (1993) project.

Second, this study offers an in-depth description of the structural aspects of codeswitching involving two languages that have significantly different typological features, offering not only a model for how to conduct such an investigation, but also a new set of findings that contribute to the bigger picture in terms of the growing body of generalisations to emerge from research on structural aspects of codeswitching.

Third, this study offers a rigorous exploration of current models of codeswitching from the perspective of this Farsi-English data and culminates in the development of a revised model of codeswitching that retains the assumption of asymmetry between the two languages, but that less narrowly restricts the distribution of early and bridge late system grammatical morphemes.

## **1.6 Overview of the thesis**

This thesis consists of nine chapters including the present introduction.

Chapter 2 offers an overview of the recent history of Iranian immigration to the UK, as well as an overview of the social conditions currently prevailing in the lives of Iranians in the United Kingdom.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed overview of Farsi grammar from a typological perspective, highlighting the grammatical features of Farsi and how they differ from those of English, giving the reader an in-depth understanding of the linguistic similarities and differences that underlie Farsi-English codeswitching.

Chapter 4 defines bilingualism and codeswitching, and explores how views of these related phenomena have developed over the years. The chapter also differentiates codeswitching from language borrowing, clarifies the use of the term ‘code mixing’, and presents an overview of the methodological developments that allow researchers to understand the language components that enhance or limit codeswitching in bilingual and multilingual individuals. This chapter is where the various models of codeswitching are reviewed.

Chapter 5 sets out the research questions, hypotheses and methodology, providing a detailed description of the methods used in conducting this study, from the selection of participants to the transcription and coding of the data.

Chapter 6 describes the findings as they relate to codeswitches involving single-word expressions, which fall primarily into the open classes. RQ1 is addressed here, with the result that Farsi is identified as the matrix language in the FED. RQ2 is also addressed as it relates to single-word codeswitches, based on coding and quantitative analysis, showing a number of clear patterns emerging from the data. In brief, the hypothesis that typological dissimilarity may constrain codeswitching receives support from the findings set out in this chapter.

Chapter 7 addresses RQ2 from the perspective of phrasal and clausal codeswitches, also based on both coding and quantitative analysis. Once more, clear patterns emerge from the data: Based on the chapter findings, overall, the hypotheses were supported by the data, but there were some counter examples.



Chapter 8 addresses RQ3 by exploring the findings from the previous two chapters in the light of the models of codeswitching reviewed in Chapter 4. This discussion shows that while the findings offer partial support for a number of the models, the two most adequate models for predicting the FED are Mahootian's (1993) null theory and Myers-Scotton's (1993) matrix language model together with the 4M model developed by Myers-Scotton and Jake. However, I argued that these two models also fail to fully account for the data and showed the necessity of proposing a revised model that fully account for the FED.

Chapter 9 offers conclusions, as well as a discussion of limitations and implications for future research.

## Chapter 2

### Background: Migration from Iran to the UK

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the background to the migration of Farsi speakers to the UK, beginning with an overview of post-Second World War migration to UK (§2.2). I then describe the main historical reasons behind Iranian migration to the UK (§2.3), before providing an overview of the emergence of Farsi-English bilingual speech communities in the UK (§2.4). The chapter ends with a brief summary (§2.5).

#### 2.2 Post WWII immigration to the United Kingdom

After the Second World War (WWII), Britain became a favoured destination for migrants seeking work due to its stable economic climate and employment opportunities. The largest numbers of migrants came from other European countries, (predominantly Western Europe) as well as from Asia and Africa. According to a report by Spatial Strategy and Research in 2010, in the six decades following the Second World War the UK became an attractive country for immigrants who were seeking work in the West, effectively increasing the rate of immigration over emigration. Following WWII, a number of strategies and policies were introduced to encourage migration into the UK to help with reconstruction, and then to work in the developing car industry and National Health Service (NHS) (Geddes 2003: 32). The immigrant influx helped to maintain and bolster the economic boom of the time, not only in the UK but also across much of Western Europe (Freeman 1978 cited in Messina and Lahav 2006). Although it had been presumed that these migrant workers would leave when they were no longer needed, by the late 1970s it turned out that this was not the case.

Immigration from the new Commonwealth countries had been relatively small through the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, but these countries subsequently came to account for a considerable proportion of the total number of immigrants in the UK. Following the Second World War, marking a new period in British immigration, the number of non-white immigrants increased exponentially. This new era began with the

arrival of a number of immigrants in 1948 on an immigrant ship, *the Empire Windrush*, which carried 492 immigrants from Jamaica (Hatton & Price 1999: 5-6). UK immigration began to increase quickly, with the majority of these early immigrants mostly from the Caribbean. In the late 1950s, this pattern of immigration increased with numbers of Indian immigrants, which rose to a peak in the 1960s. This was followed by immigrants from Pakistan in the 1970s and Bangladesh immigrants in the 1980s. The height of immigration reached its peak during this time. Since the mid-1980s these waves have lessened, and the sources of net immigration have become more various (Hatton & Price 1999). Large groups of immigrants from the Middle East, the Far East, Latin America and Africa moved to the UK in the 1980s, mainly for social and political reasons.

One of the main reasons people immigrate to the UK are to work, study, or to join families and relatives. Firstly, work-related immigration is the most commonly specified reasons for immigration; this has been the case historically. A study by Long-Term International Migration shows that the economic immigration figure for work was 202,000 in the year ending by June 2013 (Somerville & Sumption 2009), while 176,000 people arrived in the UK to study in the year ending June 2013, and 60,000 people arrived to join or accompany families.

### **2.3 Iranian immigrants in the United Kingdom**

There are three major periods that witnessed the rise in the number of Iranian immigrants to the UK. These first of these three waves took place between 1950-1979, mainly for the purpose of education and business. After the Second World War the process of modernisation started in Iran, mainly in Tehran, and other industrial cities. This, along with the resumption of oil production, changed the socio-economic structure of Iranian society and increased the revenue of most families. People enjoyed upward economic mobility and started to invest inside and outside Iran, sending their children to abroad to continue their studies. Thousands of students were sent abroad for higher education between 1960 and 1970. Of the nearly 100,000 students from Iran studying abroad, approximately 36,220 were registered in US institutes of higher education; and the rest were in the UK, France, Italy, West Germany, and Austria (Hussain 2011: 16; Amiri and Moghaddas 2005).

The second wave took place between 1979-1995. This wave of immigration was politically motivated, resulting from the Iranian revolution in 1979, which was the overthrow of the monarchy and the exile of the King from the country in favour of an Islamic republic. After the revolution, a large percentage of the Iranian population, estimated at nearly one million, either left the country voluntarily or were forced to emigrate as a result of the political struggles leading to the establishment of the Islamic Republic. These emigrants came from a range of socio-economic, religious and political backgrounds, including the royal family, academics, politicians, and member of religious minority groups (Spellman 2008, Amiri & Moghaddas 2005). They primarily immigrated to the US, Canada, the UK, France, Sweden, and Germany. Most of the emigrants intended to return to the country when circumstances permitted. However, as decades passed, Imam Khomeini, leader of the Iranian revolution, continued in power and the government of the Islamic Republic did little to create an atmosphere of social and political reconciliation, continuing to arrest and exile their opponents (The Middle East Institute 2009). The Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) proved disastrous for the country, socially and economically. The majority of post-war emigrants were either political refugees or young men who fled conscription. The persecution of organised political groups as well as religious and ethnic minorities during this war also contributed to the number of migrants leaving Iran for the UK and other parts of the world in search of asylum (Spellman 2008: 40).

The third wave started from 1995 and continues to the present day, and is motivated by a combination of political, economical, social and educational reasons. Those Iranians who migrate for educational purposes mostly return to Iran after they receive their degrees, while some of them prefer to apply for leave to remain in the UK, seeking employment and a long-term future here.

In the last few decades, the UK has thus witnessed a large number of Iranian immigrants. It is difficult to accurately state the size of the Iranian population currently resident in the UK. For example, according to Faghih (2011:16), figures from the Iranian consulate in London at that time estimated that there were more than 500,000 Iranian immigrants living in the UK. However, 2015 records from the office for National Statistics suggested that 86,000 Iranian-born people were living

in the UK. The 1981 UK census showed 28,617 people of Iranian descent born in the UK, and in 1984, 8,000 Iranian asylum seekers arrived in the country. This number had increased by 1995 to 130,000; of these some 100,000 of these were resident in the London area. Other important communities were found in Brighton, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle and Cardiff (Edwards 2007). In 1998, the Home Office stated that approximately 16,000 to 20,000 temporary visas had been given to Iranian asylum seekers every year since 1990. According to this estimation, it is assumed that a larger population of Iranians exists in the UK than those recorded in the census data (Spellman 2008: 38).

## **2.4 The emergence of Farsi-English bilingual speech communities in the UK**

Iranians often establish their communities by opening businesses immediately upon arrival, especially in areas densely populated with Iranians. This results in Iranian communities based on restaurants, grocery shops, leisure, social and religious facilities. The Iranian population is distributed among major UK cities such as London, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Nottingham, Brighton and Hove, Bradford and Newcastle (BBC 2014).

From my experience with Iranian immigrants in the UK, many feel that they have been well received in the UK, despite the current political issues in the Middle East, the role of the government of Iran in those political issues, and their effects on Europe in general. However, there are still a few Iranian immigrants who feel that they have faced discrimination due to lack of English language skills, unfamiliarity with the working environment and permit or visa problems (The Iranian Muslim Community 2009).

According to Fraga and Segura (2006), many scholars of history and culture are of the opinion that clash of cultures often occur between host and immigrants, but they subsequently diminish through generational integration. Essentially, as younger generations come to adopt the language and the culture, they become more interconnected with the new-found community.

As documented by Babaee (2013), Iranian immigrant children experience challenges in maintaining their first language as a result of the frequent use of English in communicating with friends, teachers and sometimes also parents. In the early stages, such children have trouble communicating with these classmates and teachers, but when that child becomes proficient in English, he or she may prefer to communicate with his siblings in English (Babaee 2013: 204-206).

In this way, the social conditions in the UK are similar to those documented by Fishman (1991) in his study of minority groups in the United States of America. This study shows that low social class minorities of all linguistic backgrounds face pressure from the dominant cultural environment to conform to the ethno-linguistic standard, with the result that it takes time for a foreign culture to establish its own identity in the host country.

Alzayed (2015) argues that the maintenance of a mother language is based on many factors, including family, parental attitudes, relationships, education and peer influence. According to Naghdi (2010), Iranian immigrants tend to be open to the host culture and have a tendency towards assimilation. In his field study of Iranian immigrants in Sweden, Naghdi (2010:202) found that over 73% of Iranians in Europe were well integrated into the society of the countries they live in. Moreover, Iranians are open-minded about integration with other communities and have also been open to intermarriage. Consequently, there is a high level of mixed marriages with members of other British communities, and it is common practice to anglicise or westernise the name of children to fit into the society.

Parents who immigrated into the host country wanted the best for subsequent generations in the host country, and integration offers the means to overcome social exclusion (Ngo 2007). For these subsequent generations, growing up in the host country can complicate the relationship between the younger generation and the parent's culture (Bhugra & Becker 2005). Iranian parents advise their children to respect their heritage, culture, and values while respecting English values, but not to allow the English culture to dominate their lifestyle. In Iranian culture, the familial goals are put ahead of individual goals, creating conflict for the individual youth when faced with differing cultural values between the family and community (Spellman 2008). Strictly following the values of either the family or the

community may result in rejection, exclusion, or alienation from the other. Combining Western and Eastern values builds a foundation for success in the younger generation.

Variation in the linguistic behaviour of immigrant communities may arise from two factors: (a) living in an area where generally populated by immigrants, and (b) individual network ties. In the case of Iranian immigrants, the sensitivity of the unstable political situation in Iran during the 1980s created division and mistrust among Iranian networks in the UK. There was little effort to conserve Iranian identity and culture, with Iranian immigrants preferring to stay away from other Iranians they did not know, building social groups with non-Iranian friends and fitting into English society instead (Spellman 2008: 40-41).

Despite this, according to Spellman (2008), from the 1990s onwards, Iranians from different backgrounds were anxious about their children becoming more anglicised and losing access to Farsi language and heritage. This motivation to maintain the culture and language resulted in strong social and ethnic links between families, creating established network ties among themselves and with their communities back in Iran. From my experience of interacting with Iranians in the UK, Iranian TV channels, radio, online websites, magazines and newspapers also play an essential role in helping Iranian immigrants to conserve their heritage and maintain their language. The strength of the ties with the home country is also significant. Due to the availability of cheap, comfortable and direct flights between the UK and Iran, numerous Iranian families maintain strong ties with their relatives in Iran. Moreover, affordable telephone calls and internet technologies such as Facebook and Twitter also help maintain these links. One consequence of this is that Farsi, the native Iranian language, takes priority over English in intra-group communication.

However, younger speakers use both languages in intra-peer-group communication, and this is the context in which codeswitching occurs. This bilingual approach has been accepted by the Iranian speech community, enabling the minority to both preserve their ethnic identity, language, and culture, while assimilating into the host country's linguistic and cultural environment without fear of social exclusion.

## **2.5 Chapter summary**

This chapter summarises the historical background to Iranian migration to the UK and the consequent development of Farsi-English bilingual speech communities, environments in which codeswitching commonly occurs. It is one such speech community, in Brighton, UK, that provides the case study that this research is based on.



## Chapter 3

### A typological overview of Farsi

#### 3.1 Introduction

Typology is one of the sub-branches of linguistics: “It is the study of linguistic patterns that are found cross-linguistically, in particular, patterns that can be discovered solely by cross-linguistic comparison” (Croft 1990: 1, 2003).

The purpose of typology is to determine the dominant tendencies of the world’s languages. In a simple declarative sentence with a nominal subject for example, the dominant order is one in which the subject precedes the object (Greenberg 1966: 76-77), that is SOV or SVO. Some of these typological tendencies are reflected in the form of implicational hierarchies that relate word order patterns in the languages (Sharifi & Fazaeli 2011). For example, in head-initial or VO languages, it is generally predictable that the language will have prepositions, while in head-final or OV languages, it is generally predictable that the language will have postpositions.

A description of the grammatical properties of codeswitching cannot proceed in the absence of a grammatical description of the languages involved. This chapter is intended to highlight the features of Farsi that are relevant to the study of codeswitching, which is central to this thesis. To achieve this, the present chapter provides a brief background of the history of the Farsi Language (3.2) and its orthography (3.3). There follows a descriptive overview of contemporary Farsi grammar (3.4-3.18). These sections focus on describing the structural features of Farsi that allow an insight into code switching. All the examples in this chapter are provided by the researcher.

Although, Farsi and English are typologically different, they are historically related languages. Farsi, a head-final language, belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European languages. In contrast, English, a head-initial language, belongs to the Germanic branch of the same family of Indo-European languages. This typological difference between the languages is significant for the grammatical interaction of languages involved in codeswitching (Sharifi & Fazaeli 2011; Samare 1990; Karimi 1994).

### 3.2 History of the Farsi language

Iranian history, language and culture are deeply rooted in ancient civilization. The language has a rich history and is one of the oldest languages in the world. The history of Iran dates back nearly three thousand years. It was at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. that Iranian tribes settled the plateau of Iran (Turpin & Saux 2002: 7).

Farsi, the official language of Iran, emerged nearly three thousand years ago from Indo-European origins. Farsi has been the dominant language of Iranian lands and adjacent regions for over a millennium. From the tenth century (901 C.E.) onward it was the language of literary culture, as well as the lingua franca in large parts of west, south, and central Asia until the mid-nineteenth century (Windfuhr 2009: 416).

The language named 'Paarsi' was the formal language of the 'Paarsa' people who first settled and ruled Iran between 550-330 BCE in the era of the Achaemenians' dynasty, and the capital of the country was Pars in what is now the south of Iran. The name 'Pars' was later arabicized to 'Fars'. (Mandanipour & Schoellner 2002; Malek 2010).

The Farsi language belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. In the ancient period, Farsi was spoken by people in the countries run by the Fars empire from the border of India in the East, Russia in the North, and the Southern shores of Fars Gulf to Egypt and the Mediterranean in the West (Rahnamoon 2016:3; Mandanipour & Schoellner 2002:7). The Farsi language is categorized into the following periods of time: Old Farsi, Middle Farsi and Modern Farsi.

Old Farsi is the early form of the language that was spoken by Paarsa people in the era of the Achaemenian dynasty, and the mother language of the king of *Hchaemenid* (Rahnamoon 2016:4). There are several examples of carved stones in cuneiform script surviving from this period. There are 27 inscriptions in Old Farsi documenting the battles and victories of the Paarsa kings from King Cyrus (521-486 B.C.E) to King Ardeshir III (359-338 B.C.). The inscriptions are carved on the sides of

mountains in the cities of Kermanshah and Hamadan in western Iran (Khanlari 1994), as well as Persepolis, situated 70 km northeast of the modern city of Shiraz in the Fars Province of modern Iran, and in Bisitun, located in Kermanshah province in western Iran, which is written in three different cuneiform script languages: Old Farsi, Elamite and Babylona (Norman 2016).

Middle Farsi, also known as a Pahlavi, dates from after the Achaemenian era, when the Farsi language evolved under the succeeding Sassanid Empire between c. A.D. 225-651). The official language of this empire was Pahlavi, a western dialect derived from Middle Persian that became a prestige dialect and so came to be spoken in other regions as well (Thomas 1868). Middle Farsi was most often written in the Pahlavi writing system, which was also the preferred writing system for the other languages within the Empire. There are numerous remaining writings in Pahlavi script. The essential characteristic of Pahlavi is the use of a particular Aramic-derived script from that era in the religious writings of the Zarathushti religion, namely those by Bundahish, Arda Viraf Nameh, Mainu Khared, Pandnameh and Adorbad Mehresfand (Everson & Pournader 2011; Rahnammon 2016).

Modern Farsi, derived from the two previous stages, Middle Farsi (Pahlavi) and Old Farsi. Firdausi's *Shahnameh* 'The book of Kings' offers a sample of this language (1010 CE). The History of modern Farsi dates back more than 1,000-12,000 years (Johanson and Bulut 2006; Aghaei 2006). Today, Farsi is not only the official language of Iran but is also spoken by people in Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Uzbekistan. In addition, there are speakers of Farsi in Iraq, Bahrain, Kazakhstan, Pakistan and the Iranian diaspora.

Modern Farsi as spoken today contains many non-Farsi words, because over the centuries the writers of the language in northern and central Iran incorporated words from other languages such as French, English and Arabic, and incorporated them into the language. Some examples are shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Loan words in Farsi

<b>Farsi</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>gloss</b>
duš	douche	‘shower’
gārson	garçon	‘waiter’
mersi	merci	‘thanks’
<b>Farsi</b>	<b>Arabic</b>	<b>gloss</b>
ajale	yjala	‘hurry’
javab	javab	‘answer’
estemal	estymal	‘use’
<b>Farsi</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>gloss</b>
stâduom	stadium	‘stadium’
gârd	guard	‘guard’
bâdminton	badminton	‘badminton’
buldozer	bulldozer	‘bulldozer’

As Dorian (1981) observes, the history of a language is interwoven with other factors of social life such as religion, education, and politics, and Farsi is no exception. The Arab invasion and occupation of Iran in 661 AD had a significant impact not only on Iranian culture and religion but also on the language as a consequence of the domination of Arabic speakers in the Abbasid court in Baghdad, which was dominant in Iran between the seventh and the tenth centuries. The Arabs invaded Iran and while its population accepted Islam as an official religion, the Arab occupation did not eliminate the Farsi language but nevertheless exerted a significant influence in the form of Arabic loanwords entering the Farsi language.

### 3.3 Orthography

Farsi is written from right to left in a script modified from Arabic (‘Perso-Arabic script’).

In spite of the fact that Farsi orthography is modified from Arabic, it does not follow the Arabic morphology which characterizes the Semitic languages, but is more similar to Indo European languages (Seraji, et al 2013). In Farsi script, depending on the position in the word, the graphemes can be divided into two groups: dual joining

and right joining. Dual joining graphemes have three distinct shapes that are determined by their position in the word: initial, medial or final. Table 3.2 illustrates this.

Table 3.2: Farsi constants in different shapes

	/ʔ/ ع	/ɣ/ غ	/h/ ه
Initial	عزیز ‘dear’ ʔaziz	غریب ‘strange’ ɣarib	همیشه ‘always’ hamishe
Medial	معنا ‘meaning’ maʔna	مغولستان ‘Mongolia’ maɣolstan	کتابها ‘books’ ketabha
Final	سریع ‘quick’ sariʔ	باغ ‘garden’ bāɣ	ماه ‘moon,’ māh

Optional diacritics written above or below a letter represent short vowels in non-final position, or consonant gemination. As it is shown in the table 3.3 however these diacritics are not actual letters in Farsi alphabet. When these are included in a written text, almost every phoneme of the language is clearly represented. However, in everyday texts such as newspapers, these diacritics are omitted, which presents no difficulties to Farsi native speakers but considerable difficulties for learners of the language. Therefore, the Romanisation of Farsi orthography has been an ambition of international scholars since the last century, although not without challenges (e.g. representing regional variation and the proliferation of homographs) (Keyvan et al. 2005).

Table 3.3: Some diacritics in Farsi

diacritics	IPA	Farsi example	gloss
ـُ	/u/	گل ‘gol’	‘flower’
ـِ	/a/	مَن ‘man’	‘I am’
ـَ ـِ	/e/	گل ‘gel’	‘mud’
ـُـ	/c:/	مُدَّت	‘time’

The present researcher relies upon the system shown in Table 3.4 for transcribing the examples. This system was approved by the Tenth United Nations conference on the standardization of Geographical Names in 2012, “based on the official system adopted by Iran and published in its English version as Transliteration of Farsi Geographic Names to Latin Alphabet” (New Iranian Romanization System 2012: 55-56).

Table 3.4: Farsi graphemes and corresponding IPA symbols

IPA	grapheme	examples	gloss	English approximation
b	ب	باد	wind	<b>b</b> ible
d	د	دارو	medicine	<b>d</b> ad
dʒ	ج	جنگل	jungle	<b>j</b> ail
f	ف	فیل	elephant	<b>f</b> un
g	گ	گل	flower	<b>g</b> reat
ɣ	غ	داغ	hot	No English equivalent; “Paris” in French
q	ق	قفل	lock	No English equivalent; “Quran” in Arabic
h	ه ح	هدیه	gift	<b>h</b> ot
y	ی	یار	friend	<b>Y</b> ahoo
k	ک	کمک	help	<b>c</b> ountry
l	ل	لیمو	lemon	<b>l</b> abour
m	م	ماه	moon	<b>m</b> other
n	ن	نان	bread	<b>n</b> ail
p	پ	پا	foot	<b>p</b> aradise
r	ر	روشن	light	<b>r</b> andom
s	س ص ث	سیب	apple	<b>s</b> ad
sh	ش	شاه	king	<b>sh</b> ame
t	ت ط	تاج	crown	<b>t</b> able
ch	چ	قارچ	mushro	<b>ch</b> eat
v	و	ویژه	special	<b>v</b> acancy
x	خ	خاک	land	As “loch” in Scots
z	ز ذ ض ظ	زنبور	bee	<b>z</b> ebra
zh	ژ	ژاله		vision “zh”
ʔ	ع ء	عجیب	strange	as in “water, better” in British English accent

### 3.4 Basic constituent order, word order and subject pro-drop

According to Karimi (1994) “the traditional classification of word order is based on the canonical position of the verb in a clause word order”. In this regard, the consensus among Farsi linguists is that the canonical basic constituent order of Farsi is subject-object-verb (SOV) (Dryer 2013). Although the language exhibits relatively free word order (as a result of information packaging), there is a strong tendency for the verb to remain in sentence-final position (Izadi & Rahimi 2015). Spoken Farsi can therefore be described as having an underlying SOV structure.

The following examples illustrate the flexibility of Farsi word order (Saeli 2016):

- (1)      mâ                      Sâra    ro        bârâye                      shâm    dâvat    kard-im  
                  PRO.1PL            Sara    DDO     for                      dinner    invite    do.PST-1PL  
                  ‘We invited Sara for dinner.’
- (2)      Sâra    ro        mâ                      bârâye                      shâm    dâvat    kard-im  
                  Sara    DDO     PRO.1PL            for                      dinner    invite    do.PST-1PL  
                  ‘We invited Sara for dinner.’
- (3)      bârâye                      shâm    dâvat                      kard-im                      Sâra    ro        mâ  
                  for                      dinner    invite                      do.PST-1PL                      Sara    DDO     PRO.1PL  
                  ‘We invited Sara for dinner.’

In (1) the constituent order is SOV, and in (2) OSV while in (3) the order is VOS.

In Farsi, the verb carrying the inflectional morphology can also occur in sentence-initial position (Mahootian 1997; Rezaei 1999). The example in (4) would be used in the context where the speaker intends to emphasize that s/he has given her/him the newspaper, in contrast to what the speaker possibly has not yet given him/her

- (4)     dâd-am                      roznâme              ro              be-sh  
              give.PST-1SG              newspaper              DDO              to-PRO.3SG  
              ‘I gave him/her the newspaper.’

Mahootian (1997: 130) asserts that application of verb fronting is limited to main clauses because in a subordinate clause it would result in an awkward string.

Farsi is a pro drop language; as with other pro drop languages, the agreement inflection on the verb reflects the person and number features of the unexpressed subject. Objects (direct and indirect) can also occur attached to the verb as pronominal clitics, in which case the clitic object follows the agreement inflection (Karimi 1994; Moghadam 1998; Koster 2000: 39; Sharifi & Fazaeli 2011;).

Consider the following examples, which illustrate the cases where the subject can be removed, and the object can be replaced by the clitic suffix *-esh*. Moreover, the definite direct object marker *râ* marks the direct object as definite. (It is worth mentioning that, in spoken Farsi, depending on the phonological environment, usually *râ* appears as *o/ro*.)

- (5)     man                      be              un                      dâd-am  
              PRO.1SG                      to              PRO.3SG                      give.PST-1SG  
              ‘I gave (it) to him/her’



- (6) dâd-am-esh  
 give.PST-1SG- PRO.3SG.  
 ‘(I) gave (it) to him/her’

- (7) sharbat-o xord-i?  
 juice-DDO drink.PST-2SG  
 ‘Did you drink the juice?’

- (8) xord-i-sh?  
 drink.PST-2SG- PRO.2SG  
 ‘Did you drink it?’

The majority of phrasal constructions in Farsi are head-final, with two main exceptions: NP and PP. This is because in the Farsi NP, complements follow the head noun (§3.5.6), and Farsi has prepositions rather than postpositions (§3.10). Despite this, Farsi is generally considered a head-final language due to the fact that complements precede the head with higher frequency than those that follow the head (Ghorbanpour 2016).

### 3.5 Nouns, nominal morphology and noun phrases

Farsi nominal morphology is relatively simple as the language does not display grammatical gender, and neither does Farsi mark case on both noun phrases and pronouns unlike English language. Nouns can take a definite direct object suffix *râ* (§3.5.2), a definite suffix *-e* (§3.5.3), an indefinite suffix *-i* (§3.5.4) and plural suffixes *-ân*, *-hâ* (§3.5.5).

#### 3.5.1. Categories of noun

In Farsi grammar, there are several ways to classify types of nouns. For the purposes of this thesis, only proper, common, count and mass nouns are discussed. Proper

nouns in Farsi indicate individual, specific entities, such as names of persons, places or organizations (*London, Sahar*). In contrast, common nouns refer to general categories of entities (*mard*, ‘man’, *moalem* ‘teacher’). Count nouns are nouns that can occur in both singular and plural forms (*bage* ‘kid’, *bagehâ* ‘kids’). As in English, there are some nouns that cannot be counted, and these are mass nouns (*âb* ‘water’). Mass nouns always appear in singular form. As in English, Farsi count and mass nouns are associated with different quantifiers (*har mashin* ‘each car’, *ye zare* ‘a bit’).

### 3.5.2. Definite direct object marker *râ*

In both written and spoken Farsi, the primary function of *râ* is to mark a definite NP as the direct object (Perry 2007). In standard Farsi orthography, *râ* is shown as a free morpheme, and in spoken Farsi it may be realised as /ro/ or /o/, depending on the phonological environment. Moreover, it is not always present in Farsi structure. There is some disagreement concerning the precise function of *râ*.

Lambton (1953: 131) describes *râ* as a dative marker in classical Farsi (9):

- (9) shâh      vazir      râ      xelʔat                      kard  
king      minister      DDO      robe.of.honour              give.PST.3SG  
‘The king gave the minister a robe of honour’      (Lambton 1953: 131)

While some linguists consider *râ* in Modern Farsi a marker of definite direct objects (i.e. that it marks case and definiteness simultaneously) (e.g. Lambton 1953, Sadeghi 1970, Vazinpoor 1977, Mace 2015), other more recent scholars (e.g. Karimi 1989, Windfuhr 1990, Browne 1970, Mahootian 1997) have argued that *râ* is primarily an indicator of specificity or topicalization (Mahootian 1997:198). Evidence for the latter perspective comes from the fact that *râ* can co-occur with the indefiniteness marker *-i*, which is inconsistent with its status as a marker of definiteness. This is illustrated by example (10)

- (10) xâne-i            râ        sâxt-and  
          house-INDF    DDO    build-3PL  
          ‘They built a house.’

Fatemi (2014) also observes that there is a problem with describing *râ* as a definiteness marker because generics in direct object position can appear with *râ*, as shown in example (11).

- (11) xod-am            doxtar-hâ        râ        mi-shenâs-am  
          self-1SG        girl-PL            DDO    IMPF-know-1SG  
          ‘I know girls.’

Moreover, *râ* can also appear after non-objects in topic position (12)

- (12) emroz râ        injâ    bâsh  
          today DDO    here   be.2SG  
          ‘Stay here today.’

According to some researchers (Lambton 1953: 4; Lazard 1992: 75), when a sequence of nouns forms the object of the verb, the object marker *râ* is placed once and it is attached to the last noun. However, in modern spoken Farsi, the construction in (13) is more natural, where *râ* is realised as *o* in the first two instances and occurs with each noun in the sequence.

- (13) Ketâb o        daftar        o        qalam râ        az dast-esh        oftâd  
          book    DDO    copybook DDO    pen    DDO    from hand-3SG fall-PST.3SG  
          ‘He/she dropped the book, copybook and pen.’

For the purposes of this thesis, I have opted to keep to the traditional view that *râ* is a definite direct object marker and have glossed it accordingly. Nothing of significance to this thesis rests on this decision, and I leave open the possibility that it is a topic marker.

### 3.5.3 Definite suffix *-e*

In spoken Farsi, the definite suffix *-e* optionally attaches to common or proper nouns, in subject or object position to show definiteness (Mahootian 1997: 197). In spoken Farsi, the *-e* suffix is a discourse device to show that both speaker and hearer share the same discourse-established knowledge concerning the referent. Moreover, direct object marker *râ* always follow the the object when *-e* shows in object position as the following examples

- (14) *pesar-e be man goft.*  
 boy-DEF to me tell.PST.3SG  
 ‘The boy told me.’

- (15) *pesar-e râ did-am*  
 boy-DEF DDO do.PST.1SG  
 ‘The boy told me.’

The definite marker *-e* is limited to colloquial spoken Farsi, while in written Farsi the demonstrative *ân* ‘that’ (§3.5.5) indicates definiteness when it co-occurs with *râ*. (Mahootian 1997; Lambton 1953). This is illustrated in example (16)

- (16) *ân pesar-râ did-am ke darbar-ash be to goft-am*  
 DEM boy-DDO see.PST-1SG RELPRO about-3SG to you tell.PST-1SG  
 ‘I saw the boy who I told you about.’

### 3.5.4 Indefinite suffix *-i*

In both colloquial spoken Farsi and literary written Farsi, the suffix *-i* occurs with count and mass nouns and with plural and singular nouns in order to indicate indefiniteness. As Mahootian (1997:203) states, “indefiniteness in noun phrases can be marked by *ye(k)* (17) ‘a, one’ (18), the suffix *-i* (19) which indicates (-definite) and (+specific), or the co-occurrence of *ye(k)* and *-i* (19).

(17) *ye*                      *mâshin*

DET.INDF              car

‘a car’

(18) *mâshin-i*

car-INDF

‘a (certain) car’

(19) *ye*                      *mâshin-i*

DET.INDF              car-INDF

‘a (certain) car’

The suffix *-i* can be used with mass nouns (20), and when it follows a plural mass noun, the word is interpreted as a ‘some kinds of’ (21)

(20) *yazâ-i*                      *xord-am.*

food-INDF              eat.PST-1SG

‘I ate some food.’

- (21) qahve-hâ-i      xarid-am  
 coffee-PL-INDF   buy.PST-1SG  
 ‘I bought some kinds of coffee’

As mentioned above (10), the indefinite suffix *-i* can co-occur with the definite object marker *râ*.

### 3.5.5 Plural suffixes *-ân*, *-hâ*

Farsi has two plural markers, the suffixes *-ân* and *-hâ* as well as borrowed words from Arabic that derive from the Arabic method of forming the plural. In both written and colloquial modern Farsi, the plural marker *-hâ* occurs with all noun forms including abstract nouns, as in following examples (Hamedani 2011: 17).

- (22) abstract nouns + *hâ*

- a. badi-hâ  
 badness-PL  
 ‘badnesses’

- b. xashm-hâ  
 anger-PL  
 ‘anger’

(23) animate nouns + *hâ*a. doxtar-*hâ*

girl- PL

‘ladies’

b. pesar- *hâ*

boy- PL

‘boys’

(24) inanimate nouns + *hâ*a. koh- *hâ*

mountain- PL

‘mountains’

b. xodkar- *hâ*

pen- PL

‘pens’

Unlike English, plural marking is not always required in Farsi. In both colloquial and written Farsi, plural is marked on nouns carrying specific reference (Ahrañjani 2010). Mahootian (1997) posits that specific reference illustrates that the noun is identifiable by the speaker however it does not have to be identifiable by the hearer. The following examples show that the noun is marked with *-hâ* (sometimes realised

as *-â*) in (25) and (26). These examples cannot be interpreted as ‘Some ladies went shopping’ or ‘Some kids went to school’.

- (25) xânom-a      raft-and      xarid.  
          lady-PL      go.PST-3PL      shopping  
          ‘The ladies went shopping.’

- (26) bache-(h)â      raft-an      madrese  
          kid- PL      go.PST-3PL      school  
          ‘The kids went to school.’

When a noun occurs with a numeral, the plural marker does not occur (27)

- (27) chehâr-tâ      bache      dâr-am  
          four-CLF      kid      have-1SG  
          ‘I have four kids.’

In addition, the plural marker *-ân* occurs with animate nouns (28) but this plural marker is not fully productive.

- (28) doxtar-ân-e      hamsâye  
          girl-PL-EZ      neighbour  
          ‘The girls in the neighbourhood.’

As mentioned in (§3.2), when Iran was conquered by Islam a set of Arabic plural markers was also borrowed into Farsi and incorporated to the language. Examples include the suffix *-in*, (e.g. *moalem-in* ‘teachers’), and the suffix *-ât* (e.g. *tazâhor-at* ‘demonstrations’).



### 3.5.6 Noun phrase syntax

The noun phrase can consist of a simple noun, a compound noun, a pronoun (§3.6), or noun and dependents (Megerdooonian 2000). Dependents include determiners, quantifiers and numerals, which precede the head noun. Farsi nouns cannot take complements. These elements may co-occur.

- (29)    in                    se        tâ        pirahan-e        no  
              DEM                three    CLF       shirt-EZ        new  
              ‘These three new shirts.’

Other types of dependents are attributive adjective phrases and relative clauses (modifiers), which typically follow the head noun. Adjectival modifiers are connected to the noun with e-ezafe, as illustrated by the following example:

- (30)    doxtar-e            zibâ  
              girl-EZ            beautiful  
              ‘A beautiful girl

Superlative adjectives precede the head noun, and lack e-ezafe:

- (31)    zibâ-tarin                    doxtar  
              beautiful-SUPR        girl  
              ‘Most beautiful girl.’

Relative clauses (§3.14.3) follow the head noun:

- (32) ketâb-e          jaded-i          ke          diruz          xarid-am  
          book-EZ          new-DEM          COMP   yesterday          buy.PST-1SG  
          ‘The new book that I bought yesterday.’

Finally, a noun can be modified by a possessor noun phrase, which follows the head. This type of modifier also requires e-ezafe:

- (33) ketâb-e          xâhar-am  
          book-EZ          sister-1SG.POSS  
          ‘My sister’s book.’

The possessive pronoun also follows the head noun (§3.6.5).

- (34) mashin-e-t  
          car-EZ-2SG.POSS  
          ‘Your car’

### 3.6 Pronouns

Farsi has free personal pronouns (§3.6.1) and bound (clitic) object personal pronouns (§3.6.2), as well as reflexive pronouns (§3.6.3), demonstrative pronouns (§3.6.4), possessive pronouns (§3.6.5) and relative pronouns (§3.6.6).

### 3.6.1 Independent personal pronoun

Independent personal pronouns are shown in the following table.

Table 3.5: Independent personal pronouns

person/number	pronoun
1SG	man
2SG	to
3SG	u [+ HUMAN] an [+/- HUMAN]
1PL	ma
2PL	shoma
3PL	ishan (ishun) [+ HUMAN] anha (unha) [+/- HUMAN]

As we can see from the above table, there is no distinction for gender in third person singular ‘u’, and the pronoun system also shows some sensitivity to animacy, specifically the [+/- HUMAN] distinction.

Farsi independent pronouns can occur as subject, object and complement of preposition, as illustrated by the following examples.

- (35)    man    u                      râ    did-am  
          I        PRO.3SG        DDO    see.PST-1SG

‘I saw him.’

- (36)    mn    dad-am        be    u  
          I        give.PST-1SG    to    PRO.2SG

‘I gave it to him.’

### 3.6.2 Pronominal enclitics

Like other contemporary Western Iranian languages, Farsi has pronominal enclitics. These expressions can be suffixed to nouns (Table 3.6), verbs (Table 3.7) and prepositions (Table 3.8).

When added to nouns, they have the same function as possessive pronouns (§3.6.5).

Table 3.6 illustrates the function of pronominal clitics attached to the noun *daftar* ‘copybook’. The morpheme *-e* in these examples is *ezafe* (§3.11)

Table 3.6: Farsi pronominal clitics attached to noun

1SG	daftar-e man	‘my copybook’
2SG	daftar-e to	‘your copybook’
3SG	daftar-e o	‘his/her copybook’
1PL	daftar-e mâ	‘our copybooks’
2PL	daftar-e shomâ	‘your copybooks’
3PL	daftar-e ishân	‘their copybooks’

In Farsi always 3PL same as 2PL can be used to show respect to the person. It means It could be only one person but to show respect 2PL is used for 2Sg the something for 3Sg as well.

The Farsi pronominal clitics attached to the verb refer to a definite direct object. These are illustrated in table 3.7, attached to the verb *didan* ‘to see’.

Table 3.7: Farsi pronominal clitics attached to verbs

1SG	didan-am/-a	they saw me
2SG	didan-et/-t	they saw you
3SG	didan-esh/-sh	they saw him/her/it
1PL	didan-eman/-mân	they saw us
2PL	didan-etân/-tân	they saw you
3PL	didan-eshân/-shân	they saw them

As indicated in table 3.7, the pronominal clitics have two forms (vowel-initial and consonant-initial). When a stem ends with consonant the clitic begins with vowel, while the clitic begins with constant if the stem ends in vowel (Mahootian 1997).

Clitic pronouns are suffixed to the verb in place of an independent direct object pronoun (§3.6.1), as shown in the following example.

- (37)   Diruz                did-am-esh  
           yesterday        see.PST.1SG-PRO.3SG  
           ‘I saw him/her yesterday.’

Independent and clitic object pronouns can be used interchangeably to express nominal arguments in variety of constructions, as shown by the following examples.

- (38)   a. mâshin-e     John  
           car-EZ        John  
           ‘John’s car.’
- b. mâshin-e     u  
           car- EZ        PRO.3SG.  
           ‘His car.’
- c. mâshin-esh  
           car-PRO.3SG.  
           ‘His car.’

While (38b) and (38c) express the same meaning, (38c) allows the speaker to emphasise the possessor.

- (39) a. *barâye*                      John  
           for                              John  
           ‘For John.’
- b. *barâye*                      *u*  
           for                              PRO.3SG  
           ‘For him.’
- c. *barây-esh*  
           for-PRO.3SG.  
           ‘For him.’

The above examples illustrate that the full pronouns have the same syntactic distribution as NP, like the proper noun *John*. Unlike the full pronoun *u*, which has an NP-like distribution, the enclitic *esh* directly attaches to the verb:

- (40) a. (man)                      John    *râ*            did-am  
           PRO.1SG                      john    DDO        see.PST-1SG  
           ‘I saw John.’

- b. (man)        u                    râ        did-am  
                   PRO.1SG    PRO.3SG       DDO    see.PST-1SG.  
                   ‘I saw him.’

- c. (man)                    did-am-esh  
                   PRO.1SG                    see.PST.1SG -PRO.3SG  
                   ‘I saw him.’

Again, while (40b) and (40c) express the same meaning, the construction in (40a) allows the speaker to emphasise the object.

In the case of compound verbs (§3.9.2), the clitic pronoun could be either attached to the first element in the compound or suffixed to the verbal inflection (41).

- (41) diruz        dar    mahal-e    kâr-esh                    komak-esh    kard-am  
                   yesterday   in    place-EZ    work-PRO.3SG    help- PRO.3SG    do.PST-1SG  
                   ‘Yesterday I helped him in his office.’

- (42) diruz        dar    mahale        kâr-esh                    komak kard-am-esh  
                   yesterday   in    place-EZ        office- PRO.3SG    help    do.PST-1SG-PRO.3SG  
                   ‘Yesterday I helped him/her in her/his office.’

These expressions can also be attached to prepositions to replace the object of the preposition. As it is shown in table 3.8

Table 3.8: Farsi pronominal clitics attached to prepositions

1SG	barây-am/ -m	for me
2SG	barây-at/ -t	for you
3SG	barây-ash/ -sh	for him/her/it
1PL	barây-amân/ -mân	for us
2PL	barây-eshân/ -shân	for you
3PL	barây-atân/ -tân	for them

- (43) be sârah dâd-am  
to Sarah give.PST-1SG  
‘I gave (it) to Sarah.’

- (44) be-esh dâd-am  
to-PRO.3SG give.PST-1SG  
‘I gave (it) to her.’

### 3.6.3 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

There are three reflexive pronoun roots in Farsi, *xod*, *xish* and *xishtan*, which all mean ‘self’. The three forms are applicable for all persons. Whilst *xish* and *xishtan* are more archaic, *xod* is used more frequently, and has three uses. Firstly, as a reflexive pronoun, as in (45)

- (45) xod râ zad  
him DDO hit.PST.3SG.  
‘He hit himself.’



Secondly, as an emphatic adjunct to a noun or pronoun, ‘*xod*’ either follows the head as in *man xod-am* ‘I myself’ or precedes the head in an ezafe construction (3.11) as in *xod-e man* ‘ourselves’. Finally, reflective pronouns can be used as possessives, as in (46)

- (46)    *mâshin-e*        *xod*        *râ*        *âvord-am*  
                  car-EZ                   self        DDO        bring.PST-1SG  
                  ‘I brought my (own) car.’

Apart from the above uses of the reflexive pronouns, they are also commonly used with pronominal clitics, as shown in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9: Reflexive pronouns with clitics

1SG	<i>xod-am</i>	‘myself’
2SG	<i>xod-et</i>	‘yourself’
3SG	<i>xod-esh</i>	‘himself, herself, itself’
1PL	<i>xod-emân</i> (formal) <i>xod-emun</i> (informal)	‘ourselves’
2PL	<i>xod-etân</i> (formal) <i>xod-etun</i> (informal)	‘yourselves’
3PL	<i>xod-eshân</i> (formal) <i>xod-eshun</i> (informal)	‘themselves’

Farsi also has the reciprocal pronoun form *hamdigar* ‘each other’, which is illustrated in (47).

Finally, reflective pronouns can be used as possessives, as in (47)

- (47)    *az*        *lebâs-e*        *hamdigar*        *xush-eshân*        *mi-âd*  
                  from   cloth-EZ                   each.other        like-pro.3PL        IMPF-come 3SG  
                  ‘They admire each other’s cloth.’

### 3.6.4 Demonstrative/locative pronouns

Farsi has two types of demonstrative pronouns, *in* ‘this’ and *ân* ‘that’. The plural forms are *inâ /inhâ* ‘these’, and *unâ/ unhâ* ‘those’.

Farsi also has locative demonstrative pronouns *injâ* ‘here’ and *unjâ* ‘there’, which follow the verb, as in (48)

- (48) a. raft-am      *unja*  
               go.PST-1SG    there  
               ‘I went there.’

- b. umad-am      *inja*  
               come.PST-1SG    here  
               ‘I came here.’

Moreover, a demonstrative adjective modifies a noun and they come before nouns, like the other adjectives, they have only one form as well as they do not agree with number and gender with the noun they modify (Zarei, L. et al 2014). For instance, in Farsi instead of saying (these houses) a Farsi speaker says (this houses) in this case, the plural form of (houses) shows the plurality.

- (49) In      mâshin    now    ast      (demonstrative)  
               This    car      new      COP.3SG  
               ‘This car is new.’

### 3.6.5 Possessive pronouns/determiners

Unlike English, Farsi does not have independent possessive pronouns like ‘mine’ or possessive determiners like ‘my’. Possessive clitics occur either in the *e-ezaf* construction (§3.11) with the personal pronoun (e.g. *ketab-e to* ‘your book’) or as pronominal clitics (e.g. *pedar-am* ‘my father’).

### 3.6.6 Relative pronouns

Unlike English, Farsi does not have relative pronouns, but the complementiser *ke* ‘that’ introduces relative clauses (§3.14.3). This is illustrated in (50).

- (50)    mard-i                ke                raft  
               man-DEM            who            go.PST.3SG  
               ‘The man who left.’

## 3.7 Adjectives and adjective phrases

Unlike in English, Farsi adjective forms can also function as nouns and adverbials. For example (*xub*, ‘good’) is a noun in (*xuban-e mahale* ‘the good people of the neighbourhood’) but an adjective in (*doxtar-e xub* ‘good girl’), and an adverb in (*doxtar xub mi-baf-e* ‘the girl sews well’). However, when functioning as adjectives, these forms can inflect for comparison or degree (§3.7.3). Apart from this, Farsi adjectives show invariant forms. In other words, they do not inflect to agree in number or gender with the nouns they modify. Adjectives in Farsi are classified into two types: simple adjective (§3.7.1) and compound adjective (§3.7.2) (Mirhassani 1999, Mace 2015).

### 3.7.1 Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives consist of a single root. Some examples are provided below.

- (51)    doxtar-e                xoshkel  
               girl-EZ                beautiful  
               ‘Beautiful girl.’

- (52) dāneshgâ-ye                      maruf  
university-EZ                      famous  
‘A famous university.’

- (53) dāneshgâ-ye                      besiâr    maruf  
university-EZ                      very    famous  
‘A very famous university.’

In addition to the forms illustrated above, some simple (single-root) adjectives are formed by attaching derivational suffixes to bases belonging to other word classes. Table 3.10 provides some examples.

Table 3.10: Adjectives: derivational suffixes

suffix	base	example
-e	poxt-an cook-INF	poxt-e ‘cooked’
-gâr	parhiz ‘abstinent’	parhiz-gâr ‘abstemious’
-kâr	gonâh ‘sin’	gonâh-kâr ‘sinful’
-gu	râst ‘truth’	râst-gu ‘truthful’
-sâz	kâr ‘work’	kâr-sâz ‘effective’
-âne	sâl ‘year’	sâl-âne ‘annual’
-nâk	tars ‘frighten’	tars-nâk ‘frightening’

Comparative and superlative adjectives are both types of simple adjective, since they consist of a single root plus an inflectional affix. The comparative adjective is formed by the suffixation of *-tar* (51) and the superlative adjective by the suffixation of *-tarin* (55)

- (54)    *dâneshjo-ye    zerang-tar*  
           student-EZ      clever-COMPR  
           ‘A cleverer student/ a more clever student.’

- (55)    *zerang-tarin    dâneshju*  
           clever-SUPR      student  
           ‘The cleverest student.’

### 3.7.2 Compound adjectives

Compound adjectives contain two roots. Some are formed by two nouns, as in (56)

- (56)    *Ali    pesary    shir-del            ast*  
           Ali          boy    lion-heart          COP.3SG  
           ‘Ali is a brave boy.’

Some are formed from infinitives preceded by the preposition *baraiye* ‘for’, as (57)

- (57)    *mive    barâye xordan*  
           fruit    for          eating.INF  
           ‘Edible fruit.’

Some are formed by compounding adjective and noun, or vice versa:

- (58)    pedar-am                      mard-e                      mehrabân                      ast.  
                  father-1SG.PRO                      man-EZ                      kind                      COP.3SG

‘My father is a kind man.’

- (59)    u                      xeili                      sar-boland                      ast.  
                  PRO.3SG                      very                      head-tall                      COP.3SG

‘He is a highly honoured man.’

Some are formed from nouns and past participle, as in (60)

- (60)    man                      marde                      jehân-dide                      hast-am  
                  PRO.1SG                      man                      world-saw                      COP.1SG-1SG

‘I am a worldly-wise man.’

### 3.7.3 Adjective phrase syntax

Farsi adjectives may take dependents to their left or right (Mahootian 1997: 53), including degree modifiers. There are two construction types that allow the adjective to take a type of oblique complement. Firstly, Farsi adjectives can form phrases like the English construction *I am [proud of you]* by participating in copular construction where the adjective optionally takes a preposition phrase.

- (61)    be                      mosiqâ-ye                      classic                      ?lâyemand-am  
                  to                      music-EZ                      classic                      fond-COP.1SG

‘I am fond of classic music’

- (62) nesbat be man mehrabân.bud  
 about to PRO.1SG kind-COP.3SG  
 ‘She/he was kind to me’

Secondly, many non-qualitative adjectives can take an oblique complement through the E-ezafé construction. In such cases, the complement is also optional.

- (63) negaran-e hamsar-esh  
 worry-EZ wife-3SG.PRO  
 ‘Worried about his wife.’

Degree modifying adverbs such as *xeily* ‘very’, *ziyâd* ‘too much’, *besyâr* ‘a lot’ and *biandâze* ‘extremely’ precede the adjective:

- (64) biandâze xoshkel  
 extremely beautiful  
 ‘extremely beautiful.’

- (65) xeily xoshkel  
 very beautiful  
 ‘very beautiful.’

### 3.7.4 Attributive adjective phrase

As illustrated above, attributive adjectives in Farsi occur with the ezafé particle and typically follow the noun. There is no form of agreement between attributive

adjective and noun, and there are no restrictions on the order in which attributive adjectives can occur, unlike in English.

- (66)    gol-e                zard  
           flower-EZ        yellow  
           ‘A yellow flower’

As illustrated above, the simple (single root) attributive adjective generally follows the noun. Exceptions to this generalisation include comparative and superlative adjectives (54)-(55), as well as ordinal numbers, which may occur in either post-nominal position (67) or in pre-nominal position (68)

- (67)    man                roman-e        dovom    râ    mi-nevis-am.  
           PRO.1SG        chapter-EZ    second    DDO   IMPF-write-1SG  
           ‘I am writing the second novel.’

- (68)    man    dovomin        roman râ        mi-nevis-am  
           I        second        novel    DDO    IMPF-write-1SG  
           ‘I am writing the second novel.’

### 3.7.5 Predicative adjective phrase

As in English, Farsi adjectives can also be used predicatively, as illustrated by example (69):

- (69)    Aseman            abi-ast  
           sky                blue-COP.3SG  
           ‘The sky is blue’



This construction type also allows subject pro-drop, as illustrated in (70) and (71). Here, the predicative adjective takes a copular clitic (Mahootian 1997:54).

(70) Zard-e

yellow-COP.3SG

‘It is yellow.’

(71) Zerang-am

clever-COP.1SG

‘I am clever.’

Note that the above examples contain pro-dropped subjects, the person and number features of which are indicated by the form of the copula.

When a comparative adjective forms the predicate of a clause, the comparative particle *az* precedes the compared item forming a standard of comparison, and this occurs in the copular construction where the adjective takes a prepositional complement.

(72) Linda                      az              Sarah                      xoshkel-tar-e

Linda                      from              Sarah                      beautiful-COMPR-COP.3SG

‘Linda is more beautiful than Sarah’

Comparison can also be expressed by the comparative particle *tâ*:

- (73) Linda    xoshkel-tar- e                      tâ       Sarah  
               Linda    beautiful-COMPR-COP.3SG    than       Sarah  
               ‘Linda is more beautiful than Sarah.’

Unlike the comparative predicative adjective, the superlative predicative does not require any particle, since there is no complement:

- (74) Linda                xoshkel-tarin                doxtr    ast  
               Linda                beautiful-SUPR                girl    COP.3SG  
               ‘Linda is the most beautiful girl.’

### 3.8 Adverbs and adverbials

In most cases, adverbs do not form a distinct formal category in Farsi, and many adjective and nominal forms can also function as adverbials, as illustrated by the following examples. Here, the same form *xob* can function both as a (predicative) adjective ‘good’ (75) and as an adverb ‘well’ (76).

- (75) ân        roman    xob        ast  
               That    novel    good    COP.3SG  
               ‘that novel is good.’

- (76) man                xob        dars        mi-xân-am  
               PRO.1SG                good    study    IMPF-study-1SG  
               ‘I study well.’

However, some forms correspond only to the adverb category, and these include degree modifiers like *xeili* ‘very’ and frequency expressions like *hargez* ‘never’. Simple adverb forms are non-derived, and include those illustrated below, where both semantic and categorical information is provided in parentheses (Lambton 1953; Lazard 1992; Mahootian 1997; Mirhassani 1999; Perry 2007; Mace 2015):

(77) **hargez** john na-ras-id (frequency; adverb)

never john NEG-arrive-2SG

‘John never arrived.’

(78) **emroz** john âmad (time; noun)

today John come.PST

‘John came today.’

(79) man **tond** râh mi-rav-am (manner; adjective)

PRO.1SG fast way IMPF-go-1SG

‘I walk fast.’

(80) man **xeili** xoshhal-am (degree; adverb)

I very happy- am 1SG

‘I am very happy.’





The following examples illustrate noun phrases functioning as adverbials

(87) ân gune

that way

‘In that way, how’

(88) ân gâh

that time

‘When’

(89) Ahmad do-barâbar kêr kard

Ahmad two- times work do.PST.3SG

‘Ahmad worked double (extra).’

(90) chehâr-panj bâr be u goft-am

four-five time to PRO.3SG tell.PST-1SG

‘I told him/her many times.’

A noun phrase formed with a quantificational determiner like *baazi* ‘some’ or *har* ‘any’ can also function as an adverbial:

(91) a. har sâl

any year

‘Every year/yearly’

b. har ruz

any day

‘Every day/ daily’

### 3.9 Verbs and verbal morphology

Farsi verbs can be subdivided into simple verbs (§3.9.1) and compound verbs (§3.9.2). The verbal system is one of the best examples of the richness of Farsi morphology (Lazard 1992; Mahootian 1997; Perry 2007; Windfuhr 2009). Farsi has verbal affixes for subject-verb agreement (§3.9.3) as well as present and past tense (§3.9.4-§3.9.5). The simple present is used for reference to future time in colloquial Farsi (§3.9.6). A combination of inflection and periphrasis marks aspect (§3.9.7-§3.9.10), mood (§3.9.11) and voice (§3.9.12). While negation is marked inflectionally (§3.9.13), modality (§3.9.14) is expressed periphrastically.

#### 3.9.1. Simple verbs

There are fewer than 200 simple verbs in Farsi (Rouhizadeh et al 2010); Mohammad and Karimi (1992) argue that there are fewer than 115 (§3.9.4, table 10). It is important to note that the six personal suffixes of simple verbs are the same for the present and past tenses with the exception of the third person singular suffix which is zero (-Ø) in the past tense (e.g. *raft* ‘she/he went’).

#### 3.9.2. Complex verbs

In Farsi, both incorporation and compounding are productive processes for forming complex (or compound) verbs. The morphological structure of compound verbs is complex, consisting of a simple verb compounded with a noun, adjective, adverb, preposition or prepositional phrase (Lambton 1961; Tabaian 1974; Dabirmoghadam 1997; Mahootian 1997). While there are around 120 simple verbs in Farsi, the number of compound verbs is estimated at more than 4,000 (Family 2010; Rouhizadeh, et al., 2010; Mansoory et al. 2012; Bagherbeygi & Shamsfard 2012).

As Mahootian (1997: 283) states, ‘Whatever category is compounded with the simple verb, the non-verbal element precedes the verb. The person-number

inflections are suffixed to the verbal component of the compound. Pronominal clitics can be suffixed to either component of the compound.’ Dabir-moghaddam (1997) subdivides compound verbs into those formed by incorporation and those formed by combination.

**Incorporation** involves the compounding of the complement with the verb in order to form a type of compound verb. In direct object incorporation, which requires the ezafe construction (§3.11), the argument structure of the verb changes and the transitive verb becomes intransitive. Compare the transitive verb plus direct object construction in (92) with the intransitive verb that has undergone direct object incorporation in (93)

- (92) shomâ            yazâ    xord-id  
          PRO.2PL        food    eat.PST-2PL  
          ‘You ate your food.’

- (93) shomâ        yazâ-ye-tân            xord-id  
          PRO.2PL    food-EZ-PRO.2PL    eat.PST-2PL  
          ‘You ate your food.’

In addition, some preposition phrase complements can incorporate with verbs. Compare example (94) in which the verb takes a preposition phrase complement with example (95), in which this complement is incorporated into the verb, resulting in the loss of the preposition.

- (94) ânâ                be zamin            xord-and  
          PRO.3PL        to ground        hit.PST-3PL  
          ‘They fell to the ground.’



- (95)    ânâ                    zamnin-xord-and  
          PRO.3PL                ground-hit.PST-3PL  
          ‘They fell down.’

**Combination** is illustrated by examples (96)-(103). The difference between incorporation and combination is the vast majority of compounds are made via combination. The verbal part is a lexicalized simple verb that serves as an aktionsart marker. Moreover, it has been argued that in addition to their syntactic differences there are also phonological and semantic differences between compound verbs formed via combination and incorporation (Moghaddam 1997: 46).

- (96) Adjective + verb  
delxor-sho-dan  
annoyed-become-INF  
'to become annoyed'

- (97)     Noun + verb
- a.     dars-dâ-dan
- lesson-give-INF
- ‘to teach’
- b.     dost-dâsh-tan
- friend-to.have-INF
- ‘to like; to love’

(98) Preposition phrase + verb

a. az-dast- dâ-dan

from-hand-to.give-INF

‘to give up (something)’

b. de-donya-â-madan

to-world-to.come-INF

‘to be born’

(99) Adverb + verb

dar-yâ-ftan

in-to.find-INF

‘to find’

(100) Past participle + passive auxiliary

sâxte-sho-dan

built-to.become-INF

‘to build’

Compound verbs can also be formed by simple verb conjoined with an Arabic participle, adjective or noun (Lambton 1953). The farsi verb occurs on the right and the Arabic expression on the left.

(101) Arabic noun and Farsi verb

- a. fekr-kardan

thought-to.do INF

‘to think’

- b. sabr –kardan

patience-to.do.INF

‘to wait’

(102) Arabic participle and Farsi verb

mankub-kardan

conquering-to.do.INF

‘to conquer’

(103) Arabic adjective + Farsi verb

asir –kardan

arrested-to.do.INF

‘to arrest’

As Moghadam (1997:46) observes, for every compound verb formed via incorporation, there is a corresponding non-incorporated counterpart that is a thematic paraphrase of the compound form. Examples (104) and (105) illustrate this, where (104) shows the incorporated form and (105) the non-incorporated form.

- (104) *dâneshju-hâ emtehan-eshan râ kard-and*  
 student-PL exam-PRO.3PL. DDO do.PST.3PL  
 ‘The students did their exams.’

- (105) *dâneshju-hâ emtehan-kard-and*  
 student-PL exam-do.PAST-3PL  
 ‘The students did exams.’

As shown by the above examples, incorporation of the direct object results in the direct object losing its grammatical suffixes as well as the definite direct object maker (*râ*). The direct object then incorporates with the verb to form an intransitive compound verb.

In a ditransitive construction, the indirect object is located between the direct object and the verb as in (106). In the corresponding incorporated construction (107), the direct object ‘crosses over’ the indirect object to appear incorporated into the verb (Moghadam 1997:48).

- (106) *ostâd ketâb râ be dâneshju-hâ dâd*  
 teacher book DDO to student-PL give.PST.3SG  
 ‘The teacher gave the book to the students.’

- (107) *ostâd be dâneshju-hâ ketâb-dâd*  
 teacher to student-PL. book-give.PST.3PL  
 ‘The teacher gave the book to the students.’

In contrast to the case of incorporation, there is no non-combined counterpart to the compound verb construction that is formed via combination.

As the foregoing discussion indicates, a subset of the ‘compound verbs’ described here can be described as **light verb constructions** (LVCs). The expression ‘light verb’ was coined by Jespersen (1965) to refer a semantically ‘weak’ verb occurring in construction with a nominal complement, such as the English expressions *take a nap*, *give a talk*, *have a shower*. Currently, the term ‘light verb’ is used broadly by linguists to refer to a group of verbs that lacking enough thematic force to have an independent function as predicates (Karimi-Doostan 1997, 2004). The Farsi light verb construction has received considerable attention (Khanlari 1973; Mohammad & Karimi 1992; Dabir-Moghadam 1995; Vahedi-Langrudi 1996; Karimi-Doostan 1997; Folli. et al. 2005; Harley & Karimi 2005; Megerdooian 2011).

In Farsi, light verb constructions (LVCs) fall into two types, which are labelled by Farsi linguists according to the category of the expression that makes the main semantic contribution to the complex. ‘Verbal’ LVCs are composed of two simple verbs, while the ‘non-verbal’ LVCs consist of a simple verb plus an expression of another category (noun, adverb, adjective, or prepositional phrase. Table 3.12 illustrates some common Farsi LVCs, those in bold are most common LVCs.

Table 3.12: Light verbs in Farsi

<b>light verb</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>LVC example</b>	<b>literal translation</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<b>kardan</b>	to do	paydâ-kardan	visible to do	to find
bordan	to carry	nâm-bordan	name to carry	mention
oftâdan	to fall	etefây-oftâdan	event to fall	happen
xândan	to read	farâ-xândan	back to read	summon
xordan	to eat	shekast-xordan	break to eat	lose
<b>shodan</b>	to become	gom-shodan	lose-become	lose
<b>zadan</b>	to hit	dast-zadan	hand to hit	clap/handshake

rixtan	to pour	foro-rixtan	downward to pour	collapse
<b>dâdan</b>	to give	posht-dâdan	back to give	lean
<b>dâshtan</b>	to have	dust-dâshtan	friend to have	like/love
kobidan	to pound	xâl-kobidan	spot to pound	tattoo
<b>keshidan</b>	to pull	dast-keshidan	hand to pull	desist

### 3.9.3 Subject verb agreement

In Farsi, a limited number of cases aside, subject and verb normally agree in person and number. This agreement is marked by the suffixes shown in Table 3.13. As this table indicates, these inflectional suffixes are the same in the present tense (§3.9.4) and past tense (§3.9.5) with the exception of the third person singular suffix, which is zero ‘Ø’ in the past tense. In present stems that end in *-â* and *-u* the euphonic *-y* is inserted. However, the third person singular present suffix *-e* is more common in colloquial Farsi than the suffix *-ad/-yad*.

Table 3.13: Subject-verb agreement suffixes

	<b>Present tense</b>	<b>Past tense</b>
1S	-am/yam	-am
2S	-i	-i
3S	-ad/yad (-e)	-Ø
1PL	-im	-im
2PL	-id (formal) -in (informal)	-id
3PL	-and (formal) -an (informal)	-and

### 3.9.4 Present tense

In the simple indicative present, the present stem of the verb is derived from the infinitive by removing the infinitival suffix. As shown below in Table 3.14, Moinfar (1978) classified infinitives into groups according to the form of the infinitival suffix

(-iden, -dan, -stan, -adan, -tan, -ftan). There is no consistent transparent morphological relationship between the infinitive and the present stem in Farsi verbs, however a few patterns predominate. Farsi scholars have grouped verbs into patterns of present/infinitive alternations, noting that there still remain irregularities within most of the classes.

The present stem is inflected in the simple indicative present with both the imperfective prefix *mi-* (§3.9.7) and the personal suffixes indicating subject-verb agreement (§3.9.3). This inflectional process is illustrated for some common verb forms in Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: Common verb forms in Farsi

<b>infinitive</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>present stem</b>	<b>1sg present form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
bor-idan	to cut	bor	mi-bor-am	'I cut'
xâr-idan	to scratch	xâr	mi-xâr-am	'I scratch'
xar-idan	to buy	xar	mi-xar-am	'I buy'
go-ftan	to say	g(o)	mi-g-am	'I say'
ra-ftan	to go	r(o)	mi-r-am	'I go'
gere-ftan	to receive	gir	mi-gir-am	'I receive'

### 3.9.5 Past tense

The past stem is formed regularly from the infinitive form by dropping *-an*. The past tense stem is inflected with the subject verb agreement suffixes described in Table 3.13 (§3.9.3). This inflectional process is illustrated for some common verb forms in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: Formation of past tense

infinitive	gloss	past stem	1s past form	gloss
bor-idan	to cut	bor-id	bor-id-am	'I cut'
xâr-idan	to scratch	xâr-id	xâr-id-am	'I scratched'
xar-idan	to buy	xar-id	xar-id-am	'I bought'
go-ftan	to say	go-ft	go-ft-am	'I said'
ra-ftan	to go	ro-ft	ro-ft-am	'I went'
gere-ftan	to receive	gere-ft	gere-ft-am	'I received'

### 3.9.6 Future time reference

The simple present is used to refer to future time in colloquial Farsi (108). Sometimes an adverbial is added for clarification (109)

(108) Azad mi-r-e Paris

Azad IMPF-go-3SG Paris

'Azad is going to Paris.'

(109) fardâ Azad mi-r-e Paris

tomorrow Azad IMPF-go-3SG Paris

'Tomorrow Azad is going to Paris.'

Farsi also has a periphrastic construction for referring to future time, which is rarely used in colloquial language but often used in formal contexts. This construction is made up of the auxiliary *xâh-*, the present stem of the verb *xastan*, 'to want', followed



by the bare infinitive of the main verb (the infinitive form minus the infinitival suffix):

- (110) fardâ            Azad   be        Paris   xâh-ad        raft  
          tomorrow    Azad   to        Paris   want-3SG    go.PST.3SG  
          ‘Azad tomorrow is going to Paris.’

### 3.9.7 Imperfect aspect

The prefix *mi-* has been identified by linguists as a maker of imperfective aspect (Farahani 1990; Mahootian 1997). The prefixed *mi-* is attached to either the present tense or the past tense form of the verb, as illustrated by the following examples.

- (111) mi-bin-i            ke            dâr-am        shâm        mi-xor-am  
          IMPF-see-2SG    COMP        have-1SG    dinner    IMPF-eat-1SG  
          ‘You can see that I am having dinner.’

- (112) Welz    zendegi            mi-kard-am  
          Wales   live            IMPF-do.PST.1SG  
          ‘I was living in Wales.’

### 3.9.8 Perfect aspect

The present perfect is formed with the past participle of the main verb (this is formed from the simple past form of the verb plus the suffix *-e*) followed by an auxiliary, the clitic form of the verb ‘to be’.

- (113) dar      Bangor      se      sâl      zendegi      karde-am  
          in      Bangor      three   year   living      do.PSTP-be.1SG  
          ‘I have lived in Bangor for three years’

The past perfect is formed with the past participle of the main verb followed by a form of *budan*, ‘to be’ in the past tense.

- (114) man              hargez              Bangor              na-rafte              bud-am  
          PRO.1SG              never              Bangor              NEG-go.PSTP      be.PST-1SG  
          ‘I had never gone to Bangor.’

### 3.9.9 Progressive aspect

The auxiliary *dâshtan* ‘to have’ is used to mark progressive aspect in both past and present. Present progressive is formed from the present stem of the auxiliary *dâr* and the simple present form of the main verb (115)

- (115) dâra-am              mi-xor-am  
          have-1SG              IMPF-eat-1SG  
          ‘I am eating.’

Past progressive is formed by a similar process as the present progressive. The past stem of the auxiliary *dasht* is followed by the past tense form of the main verb (116)

(116) dâsht-im      nahâr      mi-xord-im.

had-1PL      lunch      IMPF-ate-1PL

‘We were having (eating) lunch.’

### 3.9.10 Habitual aspect

In the present tense, habitual aspect is not morphologically differentiated from the present simple form. Adverbials can be used to clarify the habitual nature of the action.

(117) man      har      ruz      injâ      dars      mi-xun-am

PRO.1SG      every day      here      lesson IMPF-study-1SG

‘I always study here.’

In the past tense, habitual aspect is shown by the *mi-* prefix (§3.9.7) with the past tense form of the verb (118)

(118) man      har      shab      yek      maqâle      mi-xund-am

PRO.1SG      every night      one      article      IMPF-read-1SG

‘I used to read an article every night.’

### 3.9.11 Subjunctive mood

The present subjunctive is marked by the prefix *be-* attached to the present stem of the verb. The past subjunctive is marked by the auxiliary *bâsh*, the present stem of ‘be’, which follows the past participle form of the main verb.

The subjunctive in Farsi is used with a variety of functions including optative (119) intentional (120) and debitive (121) (Mahootian 1997). These examples illustrate the present subjunctive form.

- (119) *omidvâr-am*                      *fardâ*                      *be-yâ-d*  
           be.hopeful-1SG                      tomorrow                      SBJV-come-3SG  
           ‘I hope she will visit me tomorrow.’

- (120) *qasd-dâr-am*                      *mâh-e-âyande*                      *be-ra-m*                      *mosâferat*  
           intention-have-1SG                      month-EZ-next                      SBJV-go-1SG                      holiday  
           ‘I intend to go on holiday next month.’

- (121) *bâyad*                      *saxt*                      *kâr*                      *be-kon-am*  
           must                      hard                      work                      SBJV-do-1SG  
           ‘I must work hard.’

Example (122) illustrates the past subjunctive form.

- (122) *Fekr-mi-kon-am*                      *Lana*                      *rafte*                      *bâsh-ad*  
           think-IMPF-do-1SG                      Lana                      gone                      be-3SG  
           ‘I think Lana may have gone.’

### 3.9.12 Passive voice

Passive voice is constructed by combining the past participle of the verb with the auxiliary verb *shodan* ‘to become’ (Mahootian 1997; Lazard 1992; Yousef and Torabi 2013). The following examples illustrate.

(123) dar      baz      mi-shav-ad

door    open    IMPF-become-3SG

‘the door is being opened.’

(124) âb      xorde              shod

water   drink.PSTP      become.PST.3SG

‘The water was drunk.’

(125) ye                      qalam    be    Sara    dâd-e              shod

DET.IND      pen      to    Sara    give-PSTP      become.PST.3SG

‘A pen was given to Sara.’

### 3.9.13 Negation

Sentences are negated by attaching the negative marker *na-* to the verbal stem of simple verbs and to the beginning of light verbs in complex predicates (Mahootian 1997: 87, Taleghani 2006: 154, Lazard 1992: 162). This is shown by the following examples.

(126) na-gereft-am

NEG-take.PST-1SG

‘I did not take (it).’

- (127) Ahmad            esteʔfa            na-dâd  
                  Ahmad            resignation            NEG-give.PST.3SG  
                  ‘Ahmad did not resign.’

In both present and past imperfect constructions, *ne-*, an allomorph of *na-* precedes the imperfective prefix *mi-*:

- (128) ne-mi-gir-e                      dast-am                      râ  
                  NEG-IMPF-catch-3SG    hand-3SG                      DDO  
                  ‘She/he does not hold my hand’

- (129) ne-mi-gereft    dast-am                      râ  
                  NEG-IMPF-catch.PST.3SG                      hand-1SG                      DDO  
                  ‘She/he did not hold my hand.’

The following example demonstrates that the negative marker *na-* precedes the future auxiliary *xâh* ‘want’ (Moghadam 2006: 155).

- (130) ketâb                      râ                      na-xâh-am                      xând  
                  book                      DDO                      NEG-want-1SG                      read  
                  ‘I will not read the book.’



### 3.9.14 Modality

Modality in the verb group is marked by auxiliary verbs, which may be simple (e.g. *bâyad* ‘must’, *shâyad* ‘may’, *tavânsetan/tunestan* ‘can’) or complex (e.g. *lâzem-budan* ‘to be necessary’, *ehdiyâj-dâshtan* ‘to need’). According to Rahimian (1995), Farsi modal auxiliaries had the features of main verbs in Old Farsi, but in Modern Farsi they are highly grammaticalized in that they show defective agreement properties (they do not inflect to agree with the subject but have a single invariant form) and have become dependent on main verbs.

The following examples illustrate the simple auxiliary modals *bâyad* ‘must’, and, *shâyad* ‘may’. Modals condition the subjunctive form of the main verb.

- (135) John    *bâyad*                tu        otâq-esh                be-mun-e  
              John    must                in        room-3SG.PRO        SBJV-stay-3SG  
              ‘John must stay in his room.’

- (136) man    *shâyad*                be        in        fotbâl                bi-y-âm  
              I        may                to        this    football        SBJV-come-3SG  
              ‘I may come to this match.’

As mentioned above, some modal verbs are complex verbs (§3.9.2), consisting of adjectival or nominal non-verbal elements combined with light verbs (Taleghani 2006, Karimi 2005). Constructions containing adjectival nonverbal elements include the modal light verb constructions *majbur-budan* ‘to be obliged’, *majbur-shodan* ‘to be forced’, *momken-budan* ‘to be possible’. These are illustrated in the following examples.



- (137) Linda momken-e ke be lasfigas be-r-e  
 Linda possible-be-3SG COMP to Las.Vegas SBJV-go-3SG  
 ‘It is possible that Linda will go to Las Vegas.’

- (138) Linda majbur-e ke be lasfigas be-r-e  
 Linda obliged-be-3SG COMP to Las.Vegas SBJV-go-3SG  
 ‘Linda is obliged to go to Las Vegas.’

- (139) Linda majbur-shod ke be lasfigas be-r-e  
 Linda obliged-became-3S COMP to Las Vegas SBJV-go-3S  
 ‘Linda is forced to go to Las Vegas.’

As the above examples suggest, both *majbur-e* (138) and *majbur-shod* (139) agree with their subjects. However, *momken-e* (137) does not show genuine agreement, always occurring in the third person singular form, even if the subject is plural. This is illustrated by example (140)

- (140) xânevade-hâ-man momken-e ke be lasfigas be-r-and  
 family-PL-1PL.POSS possible-be-3SG COMP to LasVegas SBJV-go-3SG  
 ‘Our families possibly/may go to Las Vegas.’

Modal LVCs containing nominal nonverbal elements include *emkân-dâshtan* ‘to be likely’, *ehtyaj-dâshtan* ‘to need’, *ehtemâl-dâshtan* ‘to be possible’, *lâzem-budan* ‘to be necessary’, and *ejâze-dâshtan* ‘to have permission’. Similarly to modal LVCs containing adjectival nonverbal elements, some of these complex verbs show agreement (e.g. *ehtyaj-dâshtan*, *ejâze-dâshtan*), while others are defective and always appear in the third person singular form (e.g. *ehtemâl-dâshtan*, *lâzem-budan*, *emkân-dâshtan*).

### 3.10 Prepositions and preposition phrases

Despite its status as a head-final language, Farsi has prepositions.

- (141) darzir-e            deraxt  
                  under-EZ        tree  
                  ‘Under the tree.’

- (142) tu-ye    daftar-esh  
                  in-EZ    office-3SG. PRO  
                  ‘In her office.’

### 3.11 The ezafe construction

As seen above (§3.5), the Farsi nominal e-ezafe construction refers to an expression that is attached to a head noun and links it with various types of post-modifier (Perry 2007; Mahootian 1997; Samvelian 2007). However, as the discussion above illustrates, e-ezafe is not limited to nouns. Adjectives also take e-ezafe when they occur with complements (§3.7.5), and certain prepositions take e-ezafe to link them to their complement noun phrases (§3.10).

The term ‘e-ezafe’ literally means ‘addition’. This expression is a grammatical linker in Farsi, phonologically realised as an unstressed vowel *-e* or *-ye* after a vowel (Kahnemuyipour 2016). E-ezafe is not represented orthographically in Farsi, but is indicated in the New Farsi Romanization System, which is used to represent the examples in this thesis (§3.3).

The following example illustrates e-ezafe linking a noun to its post-modifying attributive adjective phrase:

- (143) dokhtar-e      zibâ  
             girl-EZ          beautiful  
             ‘beautiful girl.’

As the following example shows, where there is more than one attributive adjective phrase, e-ezafe also links the adjectives:

- (144) du      dokhtar-e      khoshkel-e      javân  
             two      girl-EZ          beautiful-EZ      young  
             ‘two beautiful young girls.’

The following example illustrates e-ezafe linking a noun with a nominal complement:

- (145) keyfiyat-e      ketâb-hâ  
             quantity-EZ      book-PL  
             ‘the quality of the books.’

The following example illustrates e-ezafe linking a noun and a postmodifying adverb phrase:

- (146) khedmat-e inja  
 service-EZ here  
 ‘(the) service in here.’

The following example illustrates e-ezafe linking a noun and its postmodifying preposition phrase:

- (147) estress-e ghabl az emtehân  
 stress-EZ before of exam  
 ‘(the) stress before the exam.’

As the following example shows, e-ezafe also links a noun and a personal pronoun in possessive constructions:

- (148) ketâb-e man  
 book-EZ PRO.1SG  
 ‘my book.’

As the following examples show, e-ezafe is not limited to occurring with nouns. The following examples illustrate e-ezafe linking prepositions and their complements:

- (149) zir-e                derakht  
           under-EZ        tree  
           ‘under the tree.’

- (150) az        ru-ye    ketab  
           from    on-EZ   book  
           ‘from the book.’

The following examples illustrate e-ezafe linking predicative adjectives with their oblique (prepositional) complements:

- (151) pedar   xoshhâl-e       bâ       pishraft-et  
           father   happy-EZ       with    success-2SG  
           ‘Father is pleased with your progress.’

- (152) be        mosiqâ-ye       classic       ?lâyemand-am  
           to        music-EZ       classic       fond-COP.1SG  
           ‘I am fond of classic music’

Finally, the following example illustrates e-ezafe linking a quantifier to its complement noun phrase:

- (153) hodud-e        yek        hafte  
           about-EZ        one        week  
           ‘about a week’

### 3.12 Simple clauses

This section sets out the main properties of the simple clause in Farsi. Declaratives may be headed by intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs, and show the order S(O)V (§3.12.1). Polar interrogatives are characterised not by word order changes, as in English, but by intonation only (§3.12.2). Unlike English, Farsi is a *wh*-in-situ language, where interrogative expressions occupy the same position their grammatical function is expected to occupy in a declarative clause (§3.12.3). The imperative clause is formed by the prefixation of the subjunctive morpheme *be-* or *bo-* to the present stem of the verb, a process that is optional in the case of compound verbs (§3.12.4). Finally, Farsi has an exclamative clause construction that is rather similar to the English exclamative, in that it contains a *wh*-expression (§3.12.5).

#### 3.12.1 Declarative clauses

In Farsi, a simple declarative clause with a transitive verb has the structure SOV:

- (154) Leah ketâb râ xarid  
 Leah book DDO buy.PST.3SG  
 ‘Leah bought the book.’

Example (155) illustrates the intransitive clause, which has the structure SV:

- (155) man david-am  
 I run.PST-1SG  
 ‘I run.’

As in English, there are some verbs that can appear in both transitive and intransitive clauses (Hajizadeh 2011):

- (156) shishe shekast  
window break.PST.3SG

‘The window broke.’

- (157) Sarah shishe râ shekast  
Sarah window DDO break.PST.3SG

‘Sarah broke the window.’

The examples below illustrate the ditransitive clause, which shows the order S DO V IO. This type of verb obligatorily takes two objects (158). Omitting either object results in an ungrammatical sentence (159).

- (158) Julia qalam râ dâd Paula  
Julia pen DDO give.PST.3SG Paula

‘Julia gave Paula the pen.’

- (159) \*Julia qalam râ gozâsht  
Julia pen DDO put.PST. 3SG

‘Julia put the pen.’

### 3.12.2 Polar interrogative clauses

The simple polar interrogative clause is formed by raising the intonation at the end of the utterance. This construction therefore shows no word order differences when compared to the corresponding declarative clause.

- (160) diruz                  raft-i                  daneshgâ  
                  yesterday          GO.PST-2SG      university?  
                  ‘Did you go to university yesterday?’

### 3.12.3 Constituent interrogative clauses

In Farsi, *wh*-interrogative expressions are left in-situ, so there is no word order difference when constituent interrogatives are compared to the corresponding declarative sentences (Mahootian 1997; Gorjian, et al 2012). The following examples illustrate constituent interrogatives across the range of grammatical functions. Interrogative expressions are in square brackets.

Example (161) illustrates a subject *wh*-interrogative:

- (161) [ki]      mâshin-o      be      man                  dâd?  
                  who      car-DDO          to      PRO.1SG          give.PST.3SG  
                  ‘Who gave me the car?’

Example (162) illustrates a direct object *wh*-interrogative:

- (162) Rezâ    chi      be      man      dâd?  
                  Reza    what    to      me      gave 3SG  
                  ‘What did Reza give me?’



Example (163) illustrates an indirect object *wh*-interrogative (Mahootian 1997:19):

- (163) Reza mâshin-o be ki dâd?  
 Reza car-DDO to who give.PST.3SG  
 ‘Who did Reza give the car to?’

Examples (164)-(165) illustrate adverbial *wh*-interrogatives, and illustrate the flexibility of the position of the adverbial interrogative expression:

- (164) a. key Ali raft?  
 when Ali go.PST-3SG  
 ‘When did Ali go?’
- b. Ali key umad?  
 Ali when come.PST.3SG  
 ‘When did Ali come?’

- (165) a. shomâ kojâ xâbid-id?  
 PRO.2PL where sleep.PST-2PL  
 ‘Where did you sleep?’

- b.      kojâ              shomâ              xâbid-id?  
              where              PRO.2PL              sleep.PST-2PL  
              ‘Where did you sleep?’

Finally, example (166) illustrates a copular construction, in which the interrogative expression corresponds to the predicate:

- (166) doxtar-e              ki-e?  
              girl-DEF              who-COP.3SG  
              ‘Who is the girl?’

### 3.12.4 Imperative clauses

To form the imperative clause, the prefix *be-* (§3.9.12) is attached to the present stem of the verb. The formation of the imperative only applies to the second person singular or plural forms of the verb (§3.9.3). To soften the command, usually the expression *lotfan* ‘please’ is used, which can appear at the beginning, middle or end of the sentence.

- (167) lotfan              dar      râ      be-ban-d  
              please              door      DDO      SUBJ-close-2SG  
              ‘Please close the door.’

- (168) dar      râ      lotfan              be-ban-id  
              door      DDO      please              subj-close-2PL  
              ‘Please close the door.’

- (169) dar    râ    be-ban-d    lotfan  
          door   DDO   subj-close-2SG   please  
          ‘Close the door, please’

To form the negative imperative, the prefix *be-* or *bo-* is replaced by *na-* for example

- (170) dar    râ    na-ban-d  
          door   DDO   NEG-close-2SG  
          ‘Do not close the door.’

The imperative prefix is optional in compound verb forms (§3.9.2): as below examples

- (171) dar    râ    baz    be-kon  
          door   DDO   open   subj-do 2SG  
          ‘Open the door.’

- (172) dar    râ    baz    kon  
          door   DDO   open   do.2SG  
          ‘Open the door.’

### 3.12.5 Exclamative clauses

Farsi has an exclamative clause construction that employs *wh*-expressions, as in English. In Farsi, this construction is identical to the *wh*-interrogative, apart from the presence of the adjective, and interrogative and exclamative clauses are also distinguished by intonation.

(173) *che ruze xubiy-e emruz!*

what day nice-COP.3SG today

‘What a nice day it is today!’

### 3.13 Complex sentences: co-ordination

Complex sentences formed by co-ordination contain at least two clauses which are coordinated by one or more conjunctions. Unlike complex sentences formed by subordination (§3.15), in clausal co-ordination structures there is no subordinating relationship or dependency between the two clauses. The most common forms of coordination in Farsi are the conjunctive co-ordination expressions *-o* and *ve* ‘and’ (§3.14.1); the disjunctive co-ordination expression *ya* ‘or’ (§3.14.2), and the adversative co-ordination expressions *vali* and *amma* ‘but’ (§3.14.3) (Mahootian 1997; Tehrani 2007).

#### 3.13.1 Conjunctive co-ordination

Farsi has two conjunctive expressions, one that is less formal (the clitic *-o*) and one that is more formal (the free morpheme *ve*). The following example illustrates the co-ordination of two clauses with these expressions.

(174) *man yazâ râ mi-paz-am o/ve Sahar miz-râ mi-chin-ad*

PRO.1SG food DDO IMPF-cook-1SG CONJ Sahar table-DDO IMPF-pick-3SG

‘I will cook, and Sahar will lay the table’

As in English, when more than two sentences are being conjoined, the conjunction is usually covert except for connecting the penultimate and the last sentences. The *ve* conjunction is used instead of the clitic *-o* in this type of construction (Mahootian 1997 and Tehrani 2007).

- (175) man    yazâ-râ            mi-paz-am,            Sahar            miz-râ  
           I           food-DDO       IMPF-cook-1SG       Sahar            table-DDO  
           mi-chin-ad    ve    Matin            zarf-hâ-râ            mi-shor-ad  
           IMPF-pick-3S   CONJ   Matin            plate-PL-DDO           IMPF-wash-3SG

‘I will cook, Sahar will lay the table and Matin will wash the dishes.’

There are a number of other conjunctions that are used to form coordination constructions in Farsi, such as *na tanha ... balke ...* ‘not only ... but also ...’, *na ... na ...* ‘neither ... nor ...’. As in English, the conjunction *na ... na ...* in Farsi is used to negate both sentences being conjoined. Moreover, the verb is in the affirmative form, and the verb in the second clause is elided (176).

- (176) na            Sima            yazâ    xord            na            Soma  
           CONJ    Sima            food    eat.PST.3SG    CONJ    Soma

‘Neither Sima nor Soma ate.’

### 3.13.2 Disjunctive co-ordination

The conjunction *yâ* ‘or’ is used to express disjunction between two sentences (177). It can also be used to mean ‘either ... or ...’ when it is repeated (*yâ ... yâ ...*), but commonly a compound conjunction *ya-inke* is used in place of the second *yâ* (178).

- (177) mi-tun-im      Landan      be-rav-im      yâ      mi-tun-im  
 IMPF-can-1PL   London      SBJV-go-1PL      CONJ      IMPF-can-1PL  
 Brighton      be-mân-im  
 Brighton      SBJV-stay-1PL

‘We can go to London or we can stay in Brighton.’

- (178) yâ      mi-rav-im      landan      yâ(-inke)      mi-rav-im      Brighton  
 CONJ   IMPF-go-1PL   London      CONJ      IMPF-go-1PL   Brighton

‘Either we will go to London or we will go to Brighton.’

### 3.13.3 Adversative co-ordination

The conjunctions *vali* and *ama* can be used to express adversative co-ordination in Farsi. They are most common conjunction in Farsi language (179)-(180). Farsi also has the adversative conjunctions *balke* and *liken*, but these are more literary and mostly used in written language.

- (179) man raft-am      dânesghah      vali      Sahar xâbgâh      mund  
 I   go.PST-1SG   university      CONJ      Sahar   accommodation   stay.PST.3SG

‘I went to university but Sahar stayed at his accommodation’.

- (180) Sara      mi-xâst      mâshin râ      be-xar-ad      amâ man      moxâlef      bud-am  
 Sara      IMPF-want 3SG   car DDO   SBJV-buy-3S   CONJ      I      against   become-1SG

‘Sara wanted to buy the car but I was against it.’

The use of (*in* ‘this’) is mandatory when a subject or object complement clause occurs in the pre-verb position which is before the verb of the main clause. The following example shows the obligatory of the (*in*) since the subject complement clause occur at the pre-verb position of the main clause.

- (184) inke    gol    râ    be-xar-am    lâzem    bud  
           this    flower DDO    SUBJ-buy-1SG necessary    COP.PST.3SG  
           ‘that I buy the flower was necessary.’

### 3.14.2 Complement clauses

In Farsi, a declarative complement clause may occur as complement of verb, noun or adjective, and is introduced by the complementizer *ke*, ‘that’ (Sabet, et al 2015). The same complementiser introduces finite and non-finite declarative complement clauses.

Example (185) illustrates a finite declarative complement clause:

- (185) shart    mi-band-am                    ke    raside-bâsh-e  
           bet    IMPF-close-1SG                COMP arrive.PSTP-be-3SG  
           ‘I bet that he has arrived.’

Example (186) illustrates a non-finite declarative complement clause:

- (186) Shab    ketâb    xândan                    râ    dust    dâr-am  
           night    book    reading                DDO    like    have-1SG  
           ‘I like to read books at night.’                (Rahimian 2007:47)

The embedded polar interrogative clause in Farsi follows the main clause and is introduced by the interrogative complementiser, which has two forms: formal (*aya* ‘if’) and informal (*age* ‘if’). The example below is from Mahootian (1997: 31)



- (187) mi-dun-i                      age/ âya              vaqt      dêr-im?  
 IMPF-know-2SG.      comp              time      have-1PL  
 ‘Do you know if we have time?’

the part from above about the embedded polar interrogative clause – make explicit that the complementiser is different.

Example (188) illustrates a finite wh-interrogative complement clause. Observe that this construction takes the same complementiser form as the declarative embedded clause.

- (188) Leah    pors-id              ke      Laila    chi      xor-d  
 Leah    ask.PST-3SG    COMP    Laila    what    eat.PST-3SG  
 ‘Leah asked what Laila ate.’

Example (189) illustrates a non-finite interrogative complement clause:

- (189) Laila    na-mi-dunest              chekar              kon-ad  
 Laila    NEG-IMPF-know.PST    what              do-3SG  
 ‘Laila didn’t know what to do.’

### 3.14.3 Relative clauses

Farsi relative clauses follow the head noun that they modify and are introduced by the complementiser *ke* (§3.14.2), which is obligatory in relative clauses. Unlike English, Farsi does not have relative pronouns (Taleghani 2006). Farsi relative clauses are characterised by gapping.

In restrictive relative clauses, the head noun takes the suffix *-i*. It is important to clarify that the suffix *-i* is not the indefinite suffix *-i* (§ 3.5.4), although they share an etymological source; in Farsi traditional grammar this expression is described as a demonstrative morpheme (Mahootian 1997). Example (190) illustrates a restrictive subject relative with a definite head noun.

- (190) ostâd-i            ke        vâred-e            kelâs   shod  
                          teacher-DEM   COMP   enter-EZ            class   become.PST.3SG  
                          ‘The teacher who entered the class.’

If the head noun is indefinite, the noun is preceded by *ye(k)*, the determiner ‘one/a’, but still takes the suffix *-i*, as shown in example (191) that illustrates a restrictive subject relative with an indefinite head noun.

- (191) ye            ostâd-i            ke            pâltu    tan-esh                    bud  
                          INDF   teacher-DEM   COMP   jacket   body-POSS.3SG            COP.PST.3SG  
                          ‘A teacher who was wearing jacket.’

In non-restrictive relative clauses, the demonstrative *-i* does not appear:

- (192) un            bâzikon-e                    javân    ke            tup    dast-esh-e  
                          DEM   football-player-EZ            young   COMP   ball   hand-COP.3SG  
                          ‘That young football player, who is holding the ball.’

- (193)    *pesar-amu-am*            *ke*        *holand*            *zendegi*            *mi-ko-ne*  
              boy-uncle-POSS.1SG    COMP    Netherlands    living               IMPF-do-3SG  
              ‘My cousin, who lives in the Netherlands.’

Example (194) illustrates a restrictive direct object relative with a definite head noun:

- (194)    *doxtar-i*            *ke*        *tu*        *xyâbân*            *did-i*  
              girl-DEM            COMP    in        street               see.PST-2SG  
              ‘The girl who I met on the street.’

In direct object relatives, the object maker *râ* optionally follows the demonstrative -*i*:

- (195)    *tarâne-i*            (*râ*)            *ke*        *dust-dasht-am*  
              Song-DEM        DDO            COMP    friend-have.PST-1SG  
              ‘The song that I liked.’

#### 3.14.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are generally classified into subcategories depending on their semantic properties rather than on any grammatical features that distinguish the different types (Tehrani 2007). This type of clause is introduced by adverbial conjunction of purpose, time, condition, result, reason and manner. Adverbial clauses follow or precede the main clause. Some illustrative examples follow.

The **purpose** clause precedes the main clause and is introduced by a conjunction (e.g. *ta* ‘so that’, *baraye inke* ‘so that’, *mabada* ‘lest, so that...not’, *ke* ‘so that’) (Mahootian 1997).

- (196) ?inek-esh      râ      zad              tâ      behtar              be-xun-ad  
                  glass-3S.POSS DDO      hit.PST.3SG      CONJ      better              SBJV-read-3SG  
                  ‘She put her/his glasses on in order to read well.’

The **temporal** clause may precede or follow the main clause, and is introduced by a conjunction such as *b?d az inke* ‘after’. This expression is a complex preposition.

- (197) b?d-az-in-ke              be      xâne ras-idi              be      man      talafon-be-zan.  
                  later-from-this-COMP to      home arrived-3SG      to      me      call-SBJV-hit2SG  
                  ‘After you arrive home, call me.’

The **conditional** clause is primarily introduced by *agar* ‘if’ and follows the main clause.

- (198) agar      bâ      man      kâr-kon-i              mofaq-mi-shav-i  
                  CONJ      with      I              work-do-2SG      succeed-IMPF-become-2SG  
                  ‘If you work with me, you will succeed.’

The negative conditional clause is either introduced by *tâ* ‘until’, and precedes the main clause (199), or follows the main clause and is introduced by the negative conditional conjunction *magar inke* ‘unless’ (200).

- (199) tâ              dars-et                              râ      na-xân-id                              na-mi-zâr-am  
                  CONJ      lesson-2SG.POSS                              DDO NEG-study-2SG      NEG-IMPF-let-1SG  
                  bâzy      be-kon-id

play SBJV-do-2SG

‘If you do not study, I will not let you play.’

(200) mâshin râ be-hesh na-de mage inke por banzin-esh be-ko-nad

car DDO to-3SG NEG-give unless COMP full petrol-3SG SBJV-do-3SG

‘Do not give him the car unless he fills the tank.’

The **result** clause follows the main clause and is introduced by conjunctions such as *betori-ke* ‘so that’:

(201) ta se –roz faqat kâr mi-kard-im betori ke

CONJ three-day only work IMPF-do-1PL way COMP

hame motahayer shod-and

everybody amazed become-3PL

‘We worked hard for three days in a way that amazed everybody.’

The **reason** clause is introduced by conjunctions such as *chun-(ke)* ‘because’, and either precede or follow the main clause.

(202) chunke mariz bud na-twnest bi-âd

CONJ sick COP.PST.3SG NEG-could come-3SG

‘Because he was ill he could not come.’

The **manner** clause is introduced by the conjunction *hamintor-ke* ‘exactly as’. This type of adverbial clause sometimes precedes the main clause (203) and sometimes appears in medial position after the direct object (204)

(203) hamintor-ke be-het goft-am qap-e -ʔaks râ be-gir  
 CONJ to-you told-1SG frame-EZ-photo DDO SBJV-  
 take-2SG

‘Hold the frame the way I told you.’

(204) qap-e            ʔaks-râ            hamintor-ke    behet    goft-am    be-gir

frame-EZ            photo-DDO            same COMP    to-you            told-1SG    SBJV-take-2SG

‘Hold the frame the way I told you’

### 3.15 Topic and focus

In Farsi, topic and focus phrases move from their base positions to positions peripheral to the sentence: initial position, in the case of focus, and either initial or final position in the case of topic (Rezai et al 2012; Azizi 2014).

### 3.15.1 Topic

The most common way of topicalizing a constituent is to move the constituent to the initial position of the sentence (Mahootian 1997). Dislocation as a strategy for topicalization can be used for constituents of the main clause such as noun phrases. Noun phrases can be dislocated to either sentence-initial position (205) (topic) or sentence-final position (afterthought) (206). The following examples illustrate direct object topics.

- (205) roznâme      ro      be-hesh      dâd-am  
 newspaper      DDO      to-3SG.PRO      give.PST-1SG  
 ‘The newspaper, I gave it to him/her.’

- (206) roznâme      ro      dâd-am      be- hesh  
 newspaper      DDO      give.PST-1SG      to-3SG.PRO  
 ‘I gave it to him/her, the newspaper.’

In Farsi, noun phrases and adverb of manner, place and time can be topicalized by moving to the initial position of the sentence. However, adjective phrases can not be topicalized, and verbs can only be fronted for contrastive emphasis (a type of focus) (3.15.2).

The following examples illustrate topicalization in Farsi in different forms. The topicalized constituents are underlined, and the empty parentheses show the original position of the constituent. The examples are taken from Mahootian (1997:123)

- (207) man,    mâhi    dust    na-dar-am      (Resumptive pronoun)  
 me,    fish    like    NEG-have-1SG  
 ‘Me, I don’t like fish.’

- (208) mâhi    behtar-e      ( )    na-xar-i      (Generic direct object)  
 fish    better-COP.PRES      ( )    NEG-buy-2SG  
 ‘as for fish, you had better not to buy (any).’

(209) ye angoshtar Reza ( ) mi-xa-d (Indefinite direct object)

INDF ring Reza ( ) impf-want-3SG

‘A ring, Reza wants (one).’

(210) zanjir o Minu ( ) xarid (Definite direct object)

chain DDO Minu ( ) buy.PST.3SG

‘The chain, Minu bought (it).’

(211) be Mahin bilit o ( ) dad-am (Infirect object)

to Mahin ticket DDO ( ) give.PST-1SG

‘To Mahin I gave the ticket.’

(212) ba eqdas man ( ) raft-am taater (Oblique object)

with Aqdar PRO.1SG ( ) go.PST-1SG theatre

‘With Aqdar I went to the theatre.’

(213) diruz o bâham ( ) gozerund-im (Adverbial)

yesterday together ( ) spend.PST-1PL

‘Yesterday we spent together.’



Example (214) illustrates an embedded topic construction.

- (214) u            goft            ke            mâshin o man            diruz            xarid-am  
 PRO.3SG say.PST.3SG COMP car DDO PRO.1SG yesterday buy.PST-1SG  
 ‘she said that, the car, I bought (it) yesterday.’

### 3.15.2 Focus

In Farsi, focalization is used to make a contrast or exclude other options in a given sentence.

It can be formed in three different ways, which are (syntactically) by clefting, pseudo-clefting and scrambling; phonologically (by tonic stress), or morphologically (by the addition of a focus marker) (Fatahi et al 2013:176). In the following examples, the focalized elements are underlined.

- (215) Lea        bud            ke            ketâb        râ bord (syntactic, clefting: subject)  
 Lea        COP.PST.3SG COMP        book        DDO take.PST.3SG  
 ‘It was Lea who took the book.’

- (216) anche ke Lea bord ketâb bud (syntactic, pseudo-clefting: direct object)  
 what COMP Lea take.PST book COP.PST.3SG  
 ‘What Lea took was the book.’

- (217) a. mâ            Sara        ro            barâye shâm davat kard-im  
 PRO.1PL        Sara        DDO        for            dinner invite do.PST.1PL  
 ‘We invited Sara for dinner.’ (syntactic, scrambling)

b. Sara ro mâ barâye shâm davat kard-im.

Sara DDO PRO.1PL for dinner invite do. PST.1PL

‘We invited Sara for dinner.’

c. barâye shâm davat kard-im

Sara ro mâ

for dinner invit do.PST.1PL

sara DDO PRO.1PL

‘We invited Sara for dinner.’

e. davat kard-im

Sara ro barâiye shâm mâ

invite do.PST.1PL

Sara DDO for dinner PRO.1PL

‘We invited Sara for dinner.’

f. barâiye shâm mâ Sara ro davat kard-im

for dinner PRO.1PL Sara DDO invite do. PST.1PL

‘We invited Sara for dinner.’

(218) dâd ketâb râ Lea be Laila

give.PST.3SG book DDO Lea to Laila

‘Lea gave the book to Laila.’

(219) Lea ketâb râ be Laila dâd (phonological; subject)

Lea book DDO to Laila give.PST.3SG

‘It was Lea who gave the book to Laila.’

Farsi focus markers are the expressions *ke*, *dige*, *axe*, and *de*. As mentioned earlier (§3.14.3), *ke* in Farsi has different grammatical functions, one of which is a focus marker that can mark any elements in the sentence as discourse-prominent. In this function, the omission of *ke* does not affect the sentence grammatically.

(220) Lea ke ketâb ro be Laila na-mi-de

Lea FOC book DDO to Laila NEG-IMPF-give 3SG

‘Lea will not give the book to Laila.’

(221) Lea ketâb ro ke be Laila na-mi-de

Lea book DDO FOC to Laila NEG-IMPF-give 3SG

‘Lea will not give the book to Laila.’

(222) Lea ketâb ro be Laila ke na-mi-de

Lea book DDO to Laila FOC NEG-IMPF-give 3SG

‘Lea will not give the book to Laila.’

(223) Lea ketab ro be Laila na-mi-de ke

Lea book DDO to Laila NEG-IMPF-give 3SG FOC

‘Lea will not give the book to Laila.’

Apart from *ke*, the rest of the focus markers can occur in clause-initial or clause-final position (Oroji 2013, Fatahi et al 2013). The following examples illustrate this.

(224) de      bia

FOC      come 2SG

‘come on.’

(225) bia      de

come FOC

‘come on.’

### 3.16 Chapter summary

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the major descriptive characteristics of Farsi grammar, with a particular emphasis on morphology and word order, given that the similarities and differences between Farsi and English are expected to play a central role in bilingual speech, and may allow or constrain code switching.

The key structural similarities and differences are summarised in Table 16 below.

Table 3.16: Summary of structural similarities and differences between Farsi and English

feature	Farsi	English
simple clause (§3.4)		
basic order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ S(O)V (head-final)</li> <li>○ flexible structure</li> <li>○ pro-drop</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ SV(O) (head-initial)</li> <li>○ rigid structure</li> <li>○ non-pro-drop</li> </ul>
NP (§3.5)		
case (lexical N)	absent	absent
number	suffixes <i>-ân</i> , <i>-hâ</i>	suffix-s
gender	absent	absent
NP syntax	(D) (Q) N (AP) (Rel. Cl.)	(D)/(Q) (AP) N (Rel.Cl)

	Num NSG	Num N
pronouns (§3.6)		
personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ no case</li> <li>○ independent and clitic</li> <li>○ no relative pronouns</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ case</li> <li>○ independent</li> <li>○ relative pronouns</li> </ul>
possessive	clitic	independent
relative	absent	present
AP (§3.7)		
agreement	absent	absent
inflection for degree	present	present
AP syntax	(ADV) A (PP)	(ADV) A (PP)
AdvP (§3.8)		
open/closed class	closed	open
AdvP syntax	(Deg) Adv	(Deg) Adv
VP (§3.9)		
V incorporation	present	absent
LVC	present (widespread)	present (limited)
V-incorporation	present	absent
Subjunctive	present	absent
S-V agreement	suffix	suffix
present	prefix/stem	suffix
past	stem change	stem change/suffix
future time	periphrastic	periphrastic
imperfect	suffix	periphrastic
progressive	prefix	periphrastic
habitual	prefix	simple present
subjunctive	prefix	absent
passive	prefix	periphrastic
negation	affix	periphrastic
PP syntax (§3.10)		
preposition/postposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ P+NP</li> <li>○ NP+P</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ P+NP</li> </ul>
E-ezafe (§3.11)		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ links N+ Adj attributive</li> <li>○ links possessed + possessor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ absent</li> </ul>
Clause type (§3.12)		
declarative	SOV	SVO
polar interrogative	inversion only	S-V inversion
Wh- interrogative	in situ	ex situ
imperative	subjunctive	infinitive
exclamative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Wh-phrase</li> <li>○ No inversion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Wh-phrase</li> <li>○ Inversion</li> </ul>
Complex sentence (§3.14)		

co-ordination	S & S	S & S
subject clause	present	present
complement clause	present	present
relative clause	postnominal gapping	postnominal relative pronoun/gapping
Topic and focus (§3.15)		
topic	clause initial NP, VP, AP, PP	clause initial NP, PP only
focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Clefting (NP, PP, Adverbial)</li> <li>○ pseudo clefting</li> <li>○ scrambling</li> <li>○ intonation</li> <li>○ focus marker</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ clefting (NP, PP)</li> <li>○ pseudo clefting</li> <li>○ fronting (NP, PP)</li> <li>○ intonation</li> <li>○ absent</li> </ul>

## Chapter 4

### Literature review: Bilingualism and codeswitching

#### 4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters provided an overview of Farsi grammar and typology (Chapter 3), and an overview of how recent migration has affected Iranian culture and language (Chapter 2). One consequence of migration is the introduction of the host country's language into the immigrant's everyday life. New words, phrases, and idioms incorporate themselves into the immigrant's language, sometimes resulting in a blend of native language and host country language (second language) in conversation. The practice of switching between two or more languages in conversation is known as codeswitching, and this phenomenon is characteristic of bilingual or multilingual conversation.

The concept of codeswitching has undergone considerable development since its original conception in the 1970s and 80s (Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980). This chapter defines codeswitching and explores how its definition has developed over the years. The chapter also differentiates codeswitching from language borrowing, clarifies the use of the term 'code mixing', and presents an overview of the methodological developments that allow researchers to understand the language components that enhance or limit codeswitching in bilingual and multilingual individuals.

Section 4.2 explores the definition of bilingualism and discusses its various types. This lays the foundation for Section (§5.4.2). In the next chapter, where I describe what type of bilingual speakers have participated in the current study and the reasons for selecting this type of participant. In Section 4.3 and 4.4, I set out the definitions of codeswitching, mixing and borrowing, in addition, exploring the differences between borrowing and codeswitching, and explain how I use these terms in this thesis.

Section 4.5 introduces the literature on sociolinguistic approaches to codeswitching, showing the importance of the role of social environment in codeswitching, while Section 4.6 introduces the literature on structural approaches

to codeswitching. In this section, I outline the various grammatical approaches that I explore in this thesis. Section 4.7 offers a short discussion of the codeswitching theories presented here, highlighting the aspects that inform my research questions (5.2). Finally, Section 4.8 concludes the chapter.

## **4.2 Bilingualism**

Bilingualism and multilingualism, which arise from our need to communicate with people who have dissimilar linguistic backgrounds, have long intrigued researchers. As Grosjean (2001, 2010) states, it is likely that “bilingualism presently exists in every country, across all age groups and all classes of society”, and it is not easy to find a modern society that is genuinely monolingual. Despite this, it is not straightforward to formulate a generally accepted definition of bilingualism. For example, various 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century linguists have proposed quite different definitions of bilingualism with different emphases.

Bloomfield (1933: 56) was among the first to give a nuanced definition of the notion of bilingualism by defining a bilingual as “anyone who has a native-like control of two languages.” In contrast, Haugen (1953: 6) defined bilingualism as that point where a speaker of one language can produce “completely meaningful utterances in another language”, and McNamara (1967: 58-77) stated that a bilingual is someone who has “minimal competence in any of the four language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) in a language other than his or her mother tongue” (Ramirez-Esparza and Grasia-Sierra 2014: 36. Nguyen 2014). These three definitions make quite different assumptions about degree of competence. In addition, as Hamers and Blanc (2000: 7) observe, these definitions lack precision in the absence of a clear definition of ‘native-like competence’, which varies considerably within a monolingual population, or a clear definition of ‘minimal competence’.

With respect to Bloomfield’s definition, which rests on the criterion of ‘native-like competence’ in two languages, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 85) points out that the competence of bilinguals is different, as some may be better at using a given language in some situations than others, or better at one of the four language skills



than others. These differences are likely to result from differences in how and when they learned each language, or in which setting they use it most. For example, if a bilingual works in an office where they always deal with marketing in a certain language, he or she is likely to be more competent in discussing that topic in the workplace language, regardless of whether that language is the mother tongue.

This brings us to the concept of ‘mother tongue’ versus ‘second language’ and their status in the debate about bilingualism. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 13-14) offers a functional definition of ‘mother tongue’, defining this as a language in which one speaks, dreams, thinks and counts. “A bilingual may have more than one mother tongue”, acquired in parallel (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 20). However, this definition does not take into account the fact that one may use a second language (one acquired later) for these functions after living in a new linguistic community for an extended period. A second language is a language that someone learns subsequent to the acquisition of their first language(s). A second language is “typically an official or societally dominant language needed for education, employment, and other basic purpose” (Saville-Troike 2012:4)

Rampton (1990) and Constant et al (1997: 8) suggest we might therefore arrive at a better understanding of the notion of bilingualism if the terms ‘native speaker’ and ‘mother tongue’ are replaced with terms like ‘language expertise’, ‘language affiliation’ and ‘language inheritance’. Furthermore, Franson (2011) argues that bilingualism is a “continuum ranging from minimal proficiency to advanced proficiency”.

Given the foregoing discussion, I reject the definition of bilingualism as ‘native-like’ proficiency in more than one language, adopting instead Rampton’s (1980) view that bilingualism also encompasses those who have ‘language expertise’ in more than one language, regardless of whether both or all languages are acquired from early childhood. I also adopt Franson’s (2011) view that bilingualism is best viewed as a continuum, where the level of ‘expertise’ or ‘proficiency’ is likely to vary from speaker to speaker depending on their circumstances.

Bilingualism has also been classified into various subcategories based on linguistic, social and cognitive dimensions. The two parameters of variation within bilingualism that are particularly relevant to the present study are early vs. late

bilingualism and balanced vs. unbalanced bilingualism. These concepts are particularly relevant to characterising the participants in this study (§5.4.2).

Researchers define early bilingualism as the acquisition of a second language before the age of five. Early bilinguals thus have more or less equal proficiency in the two languages. In contrast, late bilinguals are those who learn their second language after the age of five. This distinction is based on evidence that language acquisition after early childhood is challenging not only in terms of achieving a similar level of language proficiency in the two languages, but also in neural organisation. It follows that early bilinguals are regarded as having ‘native-like’ linguistic proficiency in the two languages, while late bilinguals are regarded as ‘non-native’ speakers of the second language. (Hernandez et al. 2007, Kalia et al. 2014).

Following from this is the distinction between balanced and unbalanced bilingualism. A balanced bilingual has a similar degree of fluency and proficiency in two or more languages, while an unbalanced bilingual has a higher degree of proficiency in one language than in their other language(s) (Moradi 2014). While the reality is more accurately thought of as a continuum between these two poles, I nevertheless find this distinction a useful one for the purposes of the present study.

#### **4.3. Defining codeswitching and code mixing**

The term ‘codeswitching’ has been in use from early 50s by Hans Vogt's (1954) review of Weinreich's languages in contact (1953). Weinreich had used the phrase "switching codes", emerged from observations about language use in and multilingual communities. In these communities, interpersonal communication often involves speakers mixing terms from multiple languages into separate sentences or even into a single sentence (Sankoff 2001:1).

Prior to the 1970's and 80's, codeswitching was perceived as accidental, possibly due to “imperfect language acquisition, interference, or poor sociolinguistic behaviours” (Toribio 2001 203-231). Since the introduction of the concept into linguistics, researchers have been examining the situations in which codeswitching occurs, as well as the factors constraining codeswitching in conversation.

In the 1980s and 1990s, codeswitching was viewed as occurring in situations where bilingual individuals switch between languages according to the speech situation, e.g. depending on interlocutors or topic (e.g. Crystal 1994, Amuda 1989, Atoye 1994).

More recently, researchers have expanded this definition in terms of the sociolinguistic and grammatical properties of codeswitching (Kheirkhah 2010: 8). Sociolinguistic approaches to codeswitching examine the relationship between the social environment and codeswitching. In contrast, grammatical approaches to codeswitching examine the syntactic constraints at work when combining languages across or within sentences (Auer 1998: 3). Auer's definition of structural codeswitching differs from the previous definition to include instances where switching occurs not only between sentences, but also within a sentence. This is the definition of codeswitching that I adopt for the purposes of the present research.

Researchers have also developed terms to specify subtypes of codeswitching. There are three main types: (a) intersentential codeswitching, which refers to codeswitching between sentences, (b) intrasentential codeswitching, which refers to codeswitching within a single sentence (Poplack 1980), and more recently, (c) 'tag switching', which is the use of interrogative tags (e.g. *don't you?*) in codeswitching (Abdel Jalil 2009). (The last of these is not addressed in the present study, due to the focus on intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching). The term 'intrasentential codeswitching' refers to cases where an English constituent occurs within the boundaries of a Farsi utterance. Muysken (2000:63) uses the term 'insertion' for this.

Some researchers use the term 'code-mixing' to describe intrasentential codeswitching (DiSciullo, Muysken, and Singh 1986). For example, Muysken (2000:4) uses the term 'code-mixing' to refer to cases where the structural features from two languages occur in one sentence, while others prefer to use code mixing and codeswitching interchangeably (Muysken 1995, 2000).

Muysken (2000) offers a descriptive typology of codeswitching, which summarises key structural features of the phenomenon. According to this taxonomy, Muysken (2000:63) there are three main processes combining two or more languages in one utterance. The first is 'insertion', where a lexical item or phrasal unit from one

language is inserted into the structure of another language. These insertions are predominantly single constituents, typically content words.. This is illustrated by the following example, where an English noun with an English premodifier *northern accent* is inserted into a German determiner phrase, and an English proper noun *Manchester* is inserted into a German preposition phrase (Eppler 2004:107).

- (1) DOR: sie hat noch immer den **northern accent** von **Manchester**. (Eppler 2004:107)

The second codeswitching process is ‘alternation’, whereby several elements can be switched, and the switch point has to be at a major clause periphery. In this case, the two languages remain relatively separate. This is illustrated by the following example:

- (2) LIL: I think die mutter war schrecklich #from what one hears. (Eppler 2004:108)

The third codeswitching process is ‘congruent lexicalisation’ (Muysken 2000:122), where the two languages involving in codeswitching share fully or partially the grammatical structure, which can be filled lexically with constituents from either language. In this case, codeswitching happens ‘back and forth’ between the two languages. For this to be possible, the two languages must be structurally similar, and the codeswitching may involve non-constituents, as in the following example:

- (3) DOR: die Hungarians, die Czechs, die haben immer a@u worse accent than we have (Eppler 2004:109)

As mentioned previously, codeswitching was initially thought to derive from poor language acquisition or poor sociolinguistic behaviours (Toribio 2001). However,

as researchers explored the factors at work behind codeswitching, the perspective changed. Now researchers argue that codeswitching is a rule-governed process, arising from the syntactic principles that underlie the languages involved (Toribio 2001). Before looking in more detail at the literature on the sociolinguistic and grammatical properties of codeswitching below (§4.5-§4.6), it is important to discuss the relationship between codeswitching and borrowing.

#### **4.4 Codeswitching vs. borrowing**

Codeswitching is not the only method of incorporating the features of one language into another. Indeed, ‘borrowing’, or the use of a single word from another language, is a pervasive feature of language use. While borrowing and codeswitching at the word level appear, some researchers argue that different constraints on their usage allow us to differentiate them. For example, Myers Scotton (1993) argues that the two are differentiated by their frequency of occurrence: when a word is used infrequently, and in bilingual or multilingual conversation, this is codeswitching. In contrast, when a word from a donor language is used frequently, including by monolingual speakers of the recipient language, this constitutes borrowing. Poplack and Meechan (1995) observe that while borrowing utilises the grammatical structure of only one language, codeswitching utilises the structures of both languages in combination.

However, some researchers opt to deny any distinction between codeswitching and borrowing. For example, Backus (1996) argues that contextual or motivational factors could place a particular instance into either category, and Park (2000) agrees that no attempt to distinguish the two is fully ‘waterproof’. Park (2006: 32-33) states that “even proper nouns, which are generally assumed to be the most typical borrowings by many codeswitching researchers, undergo the same (or at least related) morphosyntactic processes and they are not different from codeswitching.”

This literature demonstrates that codeswitching and borrowing might best be viewed as falling at different points on a continuum. However, for the purposes of this thesis I assume Myers-Scotton’s (1993:21-25) view that codeswitching at the

lexical level and borrowing can be distinguished according to the criterion of whether monolingual speakers use the expression in question, and I have relied on my own knowledge of the language to draw conclusions according to this criterion.

To elaborate on this point, I consider words that are borrowed and integrated syntactically and morphologically into Farsi, such that monolingual speakers can understand and use them without difficulty, not as instances of codeswitching but as instances of borrowing (§5.6).

#### **4.5 Sociolinguistic approaches to codeswitching**

The study of the social aspects of codeswitching dates back six decades, to when Barker (1947), Ferguson (1959), Brown and Gilman (1960), and Fishman (1968) observed the effects of social factors on codeswitching. Around the same time, Labov (1972) posited that an individual's language is a heterogeneous system in which factors as sex, age, social class and the size of the community have an influence on linguistic behaviour.

Codeswitching was investigated by Barker (1947) in his study of Mexican Americans in Tucson, Arizona. The theme of Barker's research was to identify the factors that influence bilinguals in this region to use their ancestral language for one occasion and switch to English or Spanish for others (Barker 1947:185-86 in Nilep 2006:4). He also tried to identify the reasons behind the use of both English and their native ancestral language together within a single conversation. In his findings, Barker (1947) pointed at social factors as the main drivers of this switching behaviour, observing that it was especially common among young people who adopted codeswitching as some form of Tucson identity.

Weinreich (1953. in. Nilep 2006: 4) argued that Barker's (1947) analysis of Tucson codeswitching was 'insufficiently articulated' as a description for all potential codeswitching situations. He argued that Barker relied on four social contexts i.e. intimate, informal, formal, and inter-group, while a full account would require the application of anthropological structuralism, which takes into account socialization process in the community and also aspects of language acquisition, both of which

are significant to understanding codeswitching in environments similar to Tucson (Weinreich 1953: 118).

In a later study, Blom and Gumperz (1972) argued that codeswitching plays various roles among communities of bilinguals. This ranges from its function as a simple way of communication to its function as a mode of encoding conversations. In other words, one language is used for formal communication and the other is used for informal communication. In empirical work conducted among the Rannmal- and Bokmal-speaking communities in Hemnesberget, Norway, these researchers identified how these two varieties of Norwegian were used to convey two social values in varying ways depending on the setting of the conversation. For example, Rannmal was frequently used in informal situations where the conversation was intimate and colloquial, while Bokmal was found to be commonly used to convey formal messages, or in conversations taking place in formal settings.

A point of clarification is in order here: As the Norwegian study illustrates, the use of ‘code’ in the concept of codeswitching rather than ‘language switching’ is, as (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 11) describes, a ‘neutral umbrella term for language, dialect and styles/registers.’

What such studies illustrate is that codeswitching is influenced by or has a direct relationship with the social trajectories of the community (Blom and Gumperz 1972:126-132). Hence, ‘speakers’ code choices are patterned and predictable on the basis of certain features of the local social system’ (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 126-132).

Around the same time, the significance of codeswitching was also investigated by Grice (1975), who also pointed out that the phenomenon may convey social meaning: the speaker may use codeswitching to send a message that is independent of the words contained in a sentence or phrase. The challenge for the listener is to try to identify what the implicit meaning is. When people belong to the same speech community, it is easy for them to understand the implied meaning of such words or phrases. Similarly, in the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton (1993), codeswitching is seen as a representation of the speaker’s intention. According to

this model, ‘marked’ choices of words and presentations in a conversation are an unusual interception by the speaker, intended to send a message (e.g. the speaker’s social disapproval).

This view of codeswitching as a means of conveying social or pragmatic meaning is the predominant view, as showcased by a number of recently published studies. For example, Nguyen (2014: 53) argues that the choice of a particular language in codeswitching is highly predictable. He also argues that codeswitching should be examined not only from a sociolinguistic perspective but also from a structural perspective in order to arrive at a full understanding of the phenomenon.

Malechova (2015) also views codeswitching from a sociolinguistic perspective, stating that, codeswitching has a social function. Similarly, Derick (2015: 16) states that the sociolinguistic perspective on codeswitching focuses on social factors within the bilingual speech community, and that codeswitching is observed as ‘function of social contexts that transpire within multilingual societies.’ In this study, Derick shows how Spanish-English codeswitching performs a variety of functions including emphasising, quoting and clarifying.

Yoder et al. (2017) examined the social effects on codeswitching in the context of an online collaborative community. In the context of Arabic Wikipedia talk pages, these researchers found that codeswitching was a key feature of article edits, demonstrating that codeswitching is a positive marker in that community. However, they also found some negative evaluation of codeswitching, in the sense that writers were deviating from an Arabic linguistic standard. Boro (2018), in research on the sociolinguistic influence on codeswitching in Bodo-English bilingual speech, shows that due to the development of globalization and technology, English has taken on an important part in the daily life of Bodo speakers, resulting in highly frequent codeswitching in both rural and urban areas.



## 4.6 Structural approaches to codeswitching

Turning to structural approaches to codeswitching, early researchers in this area argued that codeswitching constraints derived from language-specific differences.

Later studies identified grammatical constraints that are relevant to all languages, rather than particular combinations of languages. There was an explosion of interest in this area between the early 1980s and the early 2000s.

In what follows, I offer a chronological overview of seven major theories that have made an impact in the development of codeswitching research (§4.6.1-§4.6.7).

There follows a discussion of key similarities and differences, and a statement on the theoretical approach taken in the present study (§4.7).

### 4.6.1 Linear Order Approach (Poplack 1980)

From the 1980's, Poplack examined codeswitching by bilingual Spanish-English speakers. she discovered that when the word order between Spanish and English differs, codeswitching did not occur. Her investigation sought to identify structural constraints, while acknowledging that social factors also play a strong role in constraining codeswitching. Poplack (1980) called her approach the 'Linear Order Approach'. Pfaff (1980, 1981) also found evidence to support this theory, observing that codeswitching is more likely to occur when two languages possess similar word orders.

As a result of this research, Poplack posited two structural constraints governing codeswitching as part of her Linear Order Approach: The Equivalence Constraint and the Free Morpheme Constraint.

The **Equivalence Constraint** states that codeswitching occurs when the word orders between the two languages match and codeswitching thus does not violate any syntactic rules in either language. Poplack suggested that bilingual codeswitching produces a 'third grammar' that incorporates the structure of both languages.

The Equivalence Constraint quickly became popular, and with its popularity, research revealed counterexamples. Researchers pointed to the similarity between

Spanish and English word order as an explanation for Poplack's findings. When languages with little structural similarity were examined, it was found that codeswitching still occurred nevertheless.

For example, Bentahila and Davies (1983) examined codeswitching by French and Arabic bilingual speakers. In Arabic, the adjective follows the noun, whereas certain adjectives can precede the noun in French. Under the Equivalence Constraint, codeswitching should not have occurred, due to the difference in adjective placement. However, this research found that it did occur. Other research followed that confirmed that codeswitching occurred in bilingual conversation where the two languages had substantial syntactic differences, including language pairs such as Japanese-English (Nishimura 1986; Stenson 1990), Swahili-English (Myers-Scotton 1993), German-English (Eppler 2010) and Chinese-English (Chan 2015).

According to Poplack's second constraint, the **Free Morpheme Constraint**, codeswitching may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme (Poplack 1980: 585). For example, codeswitching may take place between a bound morpheme and a loanword, as long as the loanword has been phonologically integrated into the host language (e.g. Farsi *estadiom* 'stadium'; *estadiom-ha* 'stadiums'), but this type of codeswitching is otherwise predicted not to occur.

For example, a structure like (4), which inserts an English verb stem (Free Morpheme) *eat* into the Spanish morphological frame for a present participle (bound morpheme), is predicted by the Free Morpheme Constraint to be impossible. Indeed, Poplack (1980: 586) asserted that this type of construction was unattested in research on codeswitching, although MacSwan's research revealed counterexamples.

(4) Estoy **eat**-iendo.

am eat-ING

'I am eating' (MacSwan 1999: 41)

Further counterexamples were found by Boztepe (2003) English-Turkish codeswitching data. In example (5), the Turkish bound morpheme *-imiz* (possessive determiner) is affixed to the English noun stem *conflict*.

- (5) Sen-inle bu konu-da **conflict**-imiz var  
 you-PREP this issue-PREP conflict-1S.POSS.DET exist  
 ‘We have a conflict (disagreement) over this issue’ (Oztepe 2003:9)

Research on German-English codeswitching conducted by Eppler (2004) also shows that this constraint is clearly violated in several cases. In example (6), the German accusative singular suffix *-es* is affixed to the English adjective stem *long*. (Note that Eppler provides free translations but not item-by-item glosses, which have been added by the author.)

- (6) DOR: und heuer fahren wir nach  
 and today drive we to  
**Harrington # for a@u long-es weekend**  
 Harrington for a long-ACC weekend

‘This year we are going to Harrington for a long weekend.’ (Eppler 2004: 89)

Similarly, example (7) shows the German feminine marker *-in* affixed to a phonologically unintegrated English noun stem *lodger*.



(8) un        **professeur**    ?aDim

a        teacher        excellent

‘An excellent teacher.’

(9) \* un ?aDim professeur

‘An excellent teacher.’ (Arabic/French, Bentahila and Davies 1983:

321:322)

Bentahila and Davies (1983) adopt Poplack’s (1980) Free Morpheme Constraint, stating that “codeswitching is not possible across word-internal morpheme boundaries” (Bentahila and Davies 1983: 317-32). However, they show that this restriction is not absolute: in their Arabic-French corpus, Bentahila and Davies find counterexamples, as in example (10), where a French verb *grarrer* takes an Arabic durative prefix *tat-*.

(10) tatbqa        **tat-grarrer**

2s.keep        DUR-scratch

‘You keep scratching.’ (Arabic/French, Bentahila and Davies 1983: 315)

Similarly, to the Linear Order Approach, the Subcategorisation Principle influenced the codeswitching field due to its explanatory power, and various further studies applied this model to different language pairs. Unfortunately, language pairs such as German-English failed to replicate the findings from French-Arabic (Eppler 2004: 90). This is shown by the following example, in which the pre-verbal position of the German object *uns* violates the Subcategorisation Principle as it

relates to English word order. (This example would also serve as a counterexample to Poplack's Equivalence Constraint.)

(11) sie      haben uns      **rejected**      **in the beginning**

they    have    us      rejected      in the beginning

'They have rejected us in the beginning.'      (Eppler 2004:91)

#### 4.6.3 Phrase-Structure Congruence Constraint model

Woolford (1983) was the first researcher to explore the Generative framework as the basis for a model of codeswitching. The Generative model at this time was Chomsky's (1981) Government and Binding Theory. Woolford's (1983) work examined Spanish-English codeswitching.

According to Woolford's Phrase-Structure Congruence model, the lexicon and word formation processes in each language remain separate in codeswitching. This allows the model to account for the same findings as the Free Morpheme Constraint, since word-internal switches are predicted not to apply (Woolford 1983: 6). With the lexicon and word formation processes separate, the two grammars co-operate, but the phrase structure rules of each language also remain distinct. Only if the two languages have similar phrase structure rules can lexical items from either language fill terminal nodes. For example, in the case of English-Spanish codeswitching, the phrase structure [noun + adjective] is generated only by the Spanish rule; accordingly, the terminal nodes (noun, adjective) would only be satisfied by the Spanish lexicon and switching would not be allowed.

Similarly to the models discussed above, this model predicts that the more similar two languages grammatical structures are, the higher the probability that codeswitching will occur. What the Subcategorisation Principle and Phrase Structure Congruence model have in common is that they look beneath the surface structure of language to arrive at a more cognitive model. Moreover, both models adhere to the view that codeswitching is predicted not to occur in cases where the

deep structure, word order differs between the two languages. However, these two models differ in that Woolford's model posits that the 'two monolingual grammars' cooperate in producing the codeswitching utterance, although the structural properties of each language's grammar remain distinct. Moreover, lexical items can be freely drawn from either language to fill terminal nodes created by phrase structure rules common to both languages. "During lexical insertion, the lexical categorisation frames of the items inserted must be satisfied in a hybrid sentence just as the are in a monolingual sentence" (Woolford 1983: 535). In contrast, Bentahila and Davies's (1983) model of codeswitching posits constraints that do not rest upon word order differences. Moreover, they postulate that "all items must be used in such a way to satisfy the (language-particular) subcategorisation restriction imposed on them and switching is freely permitted at all boundaries above that of the word, subject only to the condition that it entails no violation of the subcategorization restriction on particular lexical items of either language" (Bentahila and Davies 1983: 329)

By way of illustration, the following example from Eppler (2004:92) demonstrates an instance where codeswitching would be ruled out by the Phrase-Structure Congruence Constraint (12). As (12b) shows, the verb phrase in the German embedded clause requires the order [NP V], while the English verb phrase requires the order [V NP]. This lack of Phrase Structure Congruence between German and English VPs predicts that codeswitching cannot occur.

- (12) a. \*Jemand hat gesagt daß er ist the father of her child.  
Somebody has said that he is the father of her child
- b. Jemand hat gesagt daß er der Vater ihres Kindes ist  
Somebody has said that he the father of.her child is  
'Somebody (has) said that he is the father of her child.'

What makes Woolford's model different from the other models is that her model was among the first approaches that formulated the constraints on codeswitching in term of hierarchical structural relations rather than Linear Order (Aabi 1999: 28).

Poplack's Equivalence Constraint and Woolford's Phrase Structure Congruence Model also rule out switching between adjectives and nouns in languages with pre- and postnominal adjectives.

Prince and Pintzuk (2000: 242) found no counterexamples against Woolford's model in their study, but they cite a counterexample from Mohamad (1983) (13):

(13)    hia        **funny**        awi  
              it        funny        so

              'it is so funny' (Arabic/English: Mohamad 1983 in Prince and Pintzuk  
              (2000: 242)

The above example illustrates an adjective phrase consisting of an English adjective with an Arabic adverb, which violates the word order of English.

#### 4.6.4 Government Constraint model

As a development of Woolford's model, DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986) developed a model of codeswitching that was also based on Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), specifically the notion of 'Government'.

Similarly to the Bentahila and Davis's Subcategorisation Principle and Woolford's Phrase-Structure Congruence Model, the Government Constraint model focuses on the important relationship between the lexical environment and the syntactic environment (Bentahila and Davies 1983). Like Woolford's Phrase-Structure Congruence Model, this model also focuses on a hierarchical rather than linear account of the constraints on codeswitching.

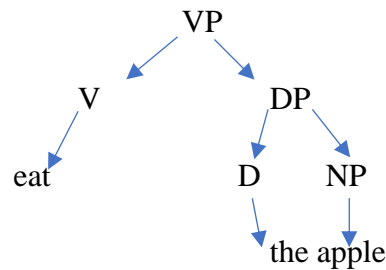


Government, as defined by DiSciullo et al. (1986: 6) is explained as follows:

X governs Y if the first node dominating X also dominates Y, where X is a major category N, V, A, P and no maximal boundary intervenes between X and Y. (Myers-Scotton 1993:43)

For example, the head of a phrase always governs its complement(s), as illustrated in Fig. 1.

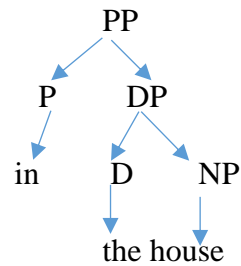
Figure 1: Verb phrase



According to the Government Constraint, switching is blocked between the governor (*eat*) and the governee (*apple*) unless a ‘neutralising element’ appears between them (DiSciullo et al. 1986:6), which in the given example is the determiner (*the*). However, the ‘neutralising element’ always has to be from the same language as the verb.

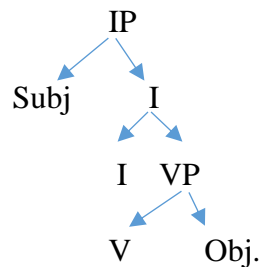
Switches are constrained by the Government relationship that holds between adjacent items. Specifically, DiSciullo et al. (1986) posit that switching between a lexical head (N, A, V, P) from one language to the other is prohibited if the government relationship holds between them. In contrast the Government Constraint posits that switches are permitted if a neutralizing element, such as a determiner, intervenes between a governor and the governed element. For example, in the preposition phrase ‘in the house’, the determiner ‘the’ is the neutralising element in the governed determiner phrase ‘the house’. The Government Constraint thus predicts that ‘in’ and ‘house’ could be switched as long as the determiner is from the same language as the preposition (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Preposition phrase



The Government Constraint model was supported by evidence from a broad range of languages, including Italian-French, Italian-English, Hindi-English, and Spanish-English (DiScuillo et al. 1986). However, later studies showed that the model made incorrect predictions on some cross-linguistic data. For example, Senson (1990) found incompatible predictions between Irish-English and Nortier (1990) similarly discovered incorrect predictions for Moroccan-Arabic-Dutch. In Nortier's data, subject and verb switches occurred less frequently than object and verb switches, which should have been equally likely, according to DiScuillo et al.'s model. Nortier argues that the weakness of DiScuillo et al.'s model is that they did not view Inflection as a governor, which would rule out subject-verb switches, because the subject is governed by Inflection rather than by the verb.

Figure 3: Inflectional phrase



These inconsistencies led to further criticism of the model. For example, Belazi et al. (1994) argued that the Government Model was too restrictive: once functional categories such as complementiser, determiner, inflection and negation are considered as the heads of phrases (this emerged in the later stages of the Government and Binding model), then codeswitching is predicted not to occur when it involves such categories. Belazi et al. (1994) found counterexamples to this prediction in their data on Tunisian Arabic-French codeswitching as example (19). The Government Constraint model (1986) predicts that switches between verbs and objects/clausal complements, and switches between prepositions and NP complements are ungrammatical. However, Eppler (2004) provides counterexamples from German-English codeswitching. Example (14) illustrates switching between main verb *gedacht* and clausal complement (in square brackets), while example (15) illustrates switching between preposition *ueber* and NP complement *faith healing*.

(14) ich hab(e) gedacht **there is going to be a fight** (Eppler 2004: 97)

(15) einmal da war einer, der hat ueber **faith+healing** gesprochen. (Eppler 2004:97)

Muysken (2000) also argues that the Government Constraint model is inadequate as it is formulated because it does not take into account the crucial role of functional categories. Like Bentahila and Davies (1983), Joshi (1985) Myers-Scotton (1993) and Eppler (2004), he postulates that if the model incorporated functional elements as governors, the Government Constraint model could have resolved many of its empirical problems.

Moreover, MacSwan (2000:40-41) questions the adequacy of the Government model with respect to the interpretation of the notion of ‘government’. MacSwan points out that in recent minimalist syntactic theory, for instance, head-complement configurations are not considered ‘checking domains’ (equivalent to Government

configurations), only head-head and head-specifier configurations. (MacSwan 2000:40-41)

Finally, DiSciullo et al. do not make any explicit statements about the status of bound morphemes in their model, focusing instead on the issue of word order.

#### 4.6.5 Functional Head Constraint model

In response to the criticisms outlined above, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) proposed a model known as the Functional Head Constraint. According to this model, which also assumes the Generative framework, functional heads (e.g. quantifier, negation element, modal verb and inflection) define the overall structure for codeswitching, such that constraints occur between a functional head and its complement. This model relies on the concept of ‘f-selection’ developed by Abney (1987), which encodes the selectional relationship between a functional head and its complement. According to Belazi et al. (1994: 129:132), ‘a functional head requires that the language feature of its complement match its own language feature, just as it might require some other feature of its complement to match its own corresponding feature’.

In other words, the Functional Head Constraint predicts that codeswitching between a functional head (such as complementiser, quantifier, determiner, inflection or negation) and its complement is prohibited. Belazi et al. (1994) provided evidence from Tunisian Arabic-French codeswitching to illustrate this constraint. In their data, Belazi et al. (1994), they postulate that switching between a numeral and its complement NP is prohibited:

(16) Ktib                      **dix**    **livres**

write.PST.3S    ten    books

‘He wrote ten books.’



Eppler (2004) provided evidence of codeswitching between determiners and nouns in German-English codeswitching data:

(20)

DOR: und sie war (ei) ne **nurse**.

and     you were     a     nurse

‘and you were a nurse’

MEL: kein **possibilities you had**?

no     possibilities     you had

‘You had no possibilities?’

MEL: fuer vierzing **penny** kann man nicht ins kino gehn     (Eppler 2004:100)

for 40     penny     can     one     not     to cinema     go

‘Once cannot go to the cinema for 40 pence.’

Muysken (2000:26) criticises the FHC model for similar reasons as the Government Constraints model, arguing that categorical equivalence undoes the effect of government restrictions. Muysken asserts that, in much of the codeswitching literature, there is a consensus that codeswitching is licensed by categorical equivalence.

MacSwan (2000: 41) criticizes the FHC model on conceptual grounds. MacSwan argues that the ‘language feature’ that the FHC requires to be shared between the functional head and its complement is not motivated for other linguistic phenomena, which makes it a mere descriptive fact of codeswitching.

#### 4.6.6 Null Theory (Mahootian 1993)

As the foregoing discussion indicates, research on the structural aspects of codeswitching tends to be based on a variety of constraint models. In contrast, Mahootian (1993: 185) argues that “codeswitching is not defined by any special constraints or mechanisms that lie outside of the rules of the two grammars involved” in codeswitching. In other words, codeswitching follows the same constraints as those through which monolingual utterances are produced. According to this model, a single bound morpheme, a single word or even an entire phrase can be switched (Mahootian 1993:186).

In the Null Theory of Codeswitching (Mahootian 1993), emphasis is placed on the head, which imposes syntactic rules that subsequently determine the phrase structure configuration of its complement. This model, according to Mahootian (1993: 145-185), ‘accounts for switching between free and bound morphemes, verb phrase internal, prepositional phrases, within determiner phrases, quantifier phrases, between complementizer and inflection phrase also switches involving conjunctions’.

In an elaboration of this model, Mahootian and Santorini (1996: 472) argue that when codeswitching, as in monolingual constructions, heads are the determinants of syntactic properties. The head determines the ‘syntactic category and feature content of its complement’. According to this view, a verb dictates the position of its complement, allowing the switch in (21) between a VO language (English) and an OV language (Farsi), but not that in (22).

(21) You’ll buy        **xune-ye**                    **jaedid**                    (Mahootian 1993: 152)

                  You’ll buy    house-POSS                    new

                  ‘You’ll buy a new house.’

- (22) \*You'll **xune-ye** **jaedid** buy (Mahootian and Santorini 1996: 472)

You'll house-POSS new buy

Here, it is the English verb *buy* that determines the VO order.

In this model, tense is not considered as a separate head in a phrase structure but rather as a syntactic feature of a lexical head (Santorini and Mahootian 1996:5). Based on this, switching between a verb from one language and inflection from another language is prohibited. (Djamila 2013) offers the following counterexample to this prediction.

- (23) Ma-qad-i:t-f n-rĕag-i

NEG-could-1SG-NEG 1SG-react-1SG

'I could not react.' (Djamila 2013: 126)

In the above example, the French verb stem *rĕag* 'react' is inflected with Algerian Arabic inflections for first person singular.

Similarly, Mashiri (2009), in his Shona-English data, shows that when an English verb appears in a Shona matrix language frame, it is inflected by Shona tenses and the distinction of regular and irregular verbs that obtains in English (e.g. *swim/swam*) no longer holds:

- (24) Nda-ka-swim-a

1SG-REM.PST-swim-FV

'I swam.' (Mashiri 2009: 255)



- (25) Wa-ka-**present**-a                                here?  
         2SG-REM.PST-present-FV                   INT  
         ‘Did you present?’                             (Mashiri 2009: 255)

Mahootian relies upon tree-adjoining grammar (TAG) formalism to articulate her Null Theory of codeswitching. Mahootian's interpretation of TAG is adapted from Joshi and Schabes (1991). It consists of three types of trees, initial, auxiliary and derived, as well as two operations, adjunction and substitution.

Initial trees (Fig. 4.4) indicate simple, non-recursive structures, which express the parts of a thematic structure. Auxiliary trees show recursive structures, such as the introduction of a sequence of auxiliary verbs (Fig. 4.5). Derived trees emerge when initial and auxiliary trees are combined, either by substitution (e.g. insertion of an argument into a subject position), or by adjunction (attachment of modifiers).

Figure 4.4: Initial tree

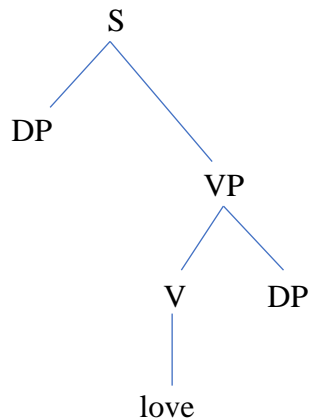
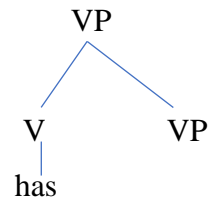


Figure 4.5: Auxiliary tree



Auxiliary trees encode branching direction, representing a complement on the left or right of its head, depending on the language. This formalism enables Mahootian to articulate the central role of the head in determining the word order in codeswitching.

Muysken (2000) points out that Mahootian's approach is closer to Myers-Scotton's System Morpheme and Morpheme Order Principle than might appear at first sight, in that the head determines the structure.

Of the models discussed in the present section, Mahootian's is the least constrained, as it predicts codeswitching to occur between complementiser and inflectional morpheme, free and bound morpheme. Switching within determiner phrases, quantifier phrases, preposition phrases. Moreover, switching verb phrase internal and switches involving conjunctions.

In a similar vein, but within the Generative framework, MacSwan (1999; 2000) developed the intrasentential codeswitching model. This assumes the minimalist approach (Chomsky 1995), which in turn assumes that the 'computational system' (the cognitive system that underpins syntactic structure) is essentially invariant for all languages. MacSwan argues that both monolingual and bilingual syntactic derivation can be generated in the same way. In this approach, syntactic variation emerges from the lexicon via lexical features, so according to MacSwan and Geldern (2007: 767), 'codeswitching may be seen as the simple consequence of mixing two lexicons in the course of a derivation.' When the features are mismatched, the derivation fails. When the features are matched, the bilingual utterance is produced. From this perspective, then, the acceptability of the linguistic utterance depends on whether its features are matched, regardless of whether it is a monolingual or a codeswitched utterance. In this respect, MacSwan's model is rather similar to Mahootian's.

#### **4.6.7 Matrix language approach to codeswitching**

Research on the structural aspects of codeswitching studies have focused not only on switching points between languages, but on determining what psycholinguistic factors contribute to constraining the phenomenon. The approaches that focus on 'matrix language' attempt to differentiate the roles of the two languages involved in codeswitching from the perspective of language processing. What these models have in common with the Generative models outlined above is that in matrix language approaches, certain functional elements also play a role in constraining codeswitching.

This approach has its origins in the work of Joshi (1985), who set out the Asymmetry and Closed class Item Constraint. Like some of the models outlined

above, his model was based on the assumption that closed class items would prevent codeswitching. Where his work stands out from these models is in the asymmetry that is assumed to hold between the two languages. In turn, Joshi's work would influence Myers-Scotton (1993), who subsequently adapted his model into the Matrix Language Frame Model of codeswitching, which remains the dominant model in current research on the structural aspects of codeswitching.

In Joshi's (1985) Asymmetry and Closed Class Items Constraint model, closed class items (e.g., determiners, quantifiers, prepositions, possessive, Aux, Tense, auxiliary verbs, etc.) cannot switch. In another word, these expressions must always be from the matrix language. In addition to this, Joshi's model views the languages involved in codeswitching asymmetrically. This key development is based on the observation that bilingual speakers recognise which language the mixed sentence 'comes from'. This base language Joshi defined as the 'matrix language', while the other language is referred to as the 'embedded language'. In Joshi's model, code switches are thus departures from the matrix language.

This model resulted from Joshi's (1985) research on codeswitching by English-Marathi speakers. He observed that switching between the two languages was unidirectional: speakers switch only from the matrix language to the embedded language, in the sense that the matrix language always provides the basic grammatical framework for the utterance. This observation provides the framework for a constraint on codeswitching.

To elaborate the difference between a matrix language and an embedded language, Joshi based his distinction on the speakers' self-reports, where they believed the codeswitching words came from.

Halmari (1997) argues that the application of this concept of asymmetry has been successful across a range of languages, offering support for Joshi's model.

According to Halmari, Marathi-English, Swedish-English, Estonian-Swedish, and Finnish-English codeswitching all appear to be unidirectional in the sense that one language is dominant and provides the grammatical framework for the sentence in which codeswitching occurs.

Critics of this approach have highlighted the unreliability and subjectivity of self-reporting, arguing that more objective criteria are necessary to differentiate matrix language and embedded language. Belazi et al (1994), Di Sciullo et al. (1986) and MacSwan (2009) are among the researcher who criticise this criterion, seeking more explanations at the abstract level rather than at the linear level. These researchers argue that the structural organisation of codeswitching can and should be accounted for in terms of the principles of current grammatical models. Furthermore, they do not identify any theoretical value in identifying the asymmetry between matrix language and embedded language.

In response to these criticisms, evidence has emerged from comparative data on codeswitching that supports the matrix/embedded language distinction. For example, Myers Scotton (1993) postulates two principles to distinguish the matrix language and the embedded language. First, the matrix language contributes more morphemes to any codeswitched utterance than the embedded language does. Secondly, only the matrix language is the source of morpho-syntactic elements.

It is important to emphasise that the matrix/embedded language distinction itself does not provide detailed mechanisms for allowing or prohibiting codeswitches; the model still requires linguistic rules that emerge from linguistic theory and/or typological similarities and differences. In Joshi's model, closed class items cannot switch (must always be from the matrix language), while open class items are key to possible switches. In this respect, Joshi's model is reminiscent of the Functional Head Constraint model.

Certain approaches to codeswitching rely on the concept of asymmetry between the two languages, the most influential of these being the matrix language hypothesis, most recently restated by Myers-Scotton (2016: 204), which has its roots in the closed class item constraint model developed by Joshi (1985). According to matrix language model, evidence for this asymmetry comes from (a) the observation that the majority of the utterances in a given dataset of bilingual speech are in one language, and (b) the observation that the same language provides the grammatical (closed class) expressions in that dataset. The dominant language is referred to as the matrix language and the other language is referred to as the embedded language. The embedded language contributes open-class expressions to the

bilingual conversation. The embedded language may also contribute closed-class expressions if they occur as part of a grammatical constituent headed by an open class expression, but not otherwise. For example, an embedded language noun may occur with an embedded language determiner. In this case, the structure conforms to the requirements of the embedded language, and the insertion forms an ‘embedded language island’ (Myers-Scotton 2009:149). However, the position of the embedded language island is determined by the constituent order requirements of the matrix language.

The matrix language model rests on two major principles: the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle (Myers Scotton 1993:82-83).

The **Morpheme Order Principle** states that in codeswitched utterances, the word and constituent order is determined by the matrix language.

The **System Morpheme Principle** states that in codeswitched utterances, system (grammatical) morphemes, bound and free, will come from the matrix language.

Myers-Scotton (2002) explains codeswitching from the language production process perspective by seeking to explain ‘how surface realization s (i.e. production) are linked to how language is structured (i.e. competence)’ Myers-Scotton (2002: 14). In this way, the matrix language model relies not only on empirical findings but also on psycholinguistic underpinnings relating to language production. This is an important difference between the matrix language model and other codeswitching models.

More recently, in order to further develop the psycholinguistic basis of the matrix language model, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000; 2016) developed the 4-M model, which supplements the matrix language model by elaborating the distinction between content and system morphemes. According to the 4-M model, system (grammatical) morphemes fall into one of two types: Early System Morphemes and Late System Morphemes. Late System Morphemes are divided into two types: Bridge Late System Morphemes and Outsider Late System Morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016).

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000: 1055) draw upon other models of language production, including those developed by Levelt (1989), de Bot (1992), de Bot et al

(1992), de Bot and Schreuder (1993), Bock and Levelt (1994), Poulishse (1997), Green (1998) and Levelt et al. (1999).

According to this model, the language production process involves four levels. The first is the conceptual level, at which the speaker's intention is formulated, which then activates language specific semantic/pragmatic feature bundles.

The second is the lemma level, where specific abstract word forms are selected. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:1055) state that 'Lemmas are what mediate between the intentions at the conceptual level and the production of grammatical structures, including the surface structure.' At this stage, the lemmas relate to content morphemes and Early System Morphemes, which are grammatical morphemes, bound and free, that convey concepts that are 'conceptually salient' and participate in conveying the communicative intent of the speaker (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016: 344).

Early System Morphemes include derivational morphemes, expressions of (in)definiteness, plurality, numerals, possession, degree modifiers, aspect or particles of phrasal verbs. Early System Morphemes can come either from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island, due to the close relationship between Early System Morphemes and Content Morphemes. Thus, Myers-Scotton (2002: 92) postulates that only Early System Morphemes can be doubled in codeswitching, the phenomenon where a content expression occurs with a function morpheme from both languages.

The third stage is the functional level, at which morphological and syntactic structure is assigned. At this level, lemmas relating to Late System Morphemes are selected. Late System Morphemes are grammatical morphemes, bound and free, that make little or no contribution to conceptual structure, but participate in building syntactic structure (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016: 344). These fall into two types.

Bridge Late System Morphemes are grammatical morphemes that link two units together, such as the preposition *of* in the complex noun phrase *the top of the table*, or the complementiser that links main verb to complement clause. Like Early System Morphemes, Bridge Late System Morphemes can come either from the

matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island (Myers-Scotton & Jake (2016: 345).

Outsider Late System Morphemes are grammatical morphemes that express relationships between different grammatical elements, such as case and agreement, or pronouns that co-refer with other expressions (such as Romance clitics). (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016: 345). Unlike the previous two types of System Morphemes, Outsider Late System Morphemes are predicted to come only from the matrix language.

The final stage is the positional level, at which surface order and phonetic forms are assigned.

While the matrix language model remains the dominant model in structural approaches to codeswitching, its position does not go unchallenged. In particular, researchers have noted inconsistencies in data produced by balanced bilinguals, which follows from the fact that the matrix language model rests on the assumption that the speaker has a dominant language. Such studies place emphasis on insertional switching that only applies when the languages in a conversation contribute in a symmetrical way (Eversteijn 2011: 12).

#### **4.7 Discussion**

As the foregoing discussion illustrates, the challenge that all structural approaches to codeswitching have in common is to formulate how linguistic systems cooperate when two languages are mixed. A further similarity is that all researchers acknowledge that typological differences (word orders) play a role in constraining codeswitching, but the models differ in terms of how such differences are encoded theoretically.

Poplack's (1980) Linear Order Approach relied on congruence in Linear Order, as well as a restriction on bound morphemes from one language attaching to free morphemes from the other. The main weakness of Poplack's theory is that there are numerous counterexamples where the Linear Order is not shared between the two languages involved, yet codeswitching occurs.

Bentahila and Davies (1983), who developed the Subcategorisation Principle model, argued for congruence at a deeper level (subcategorisation rather than surface linear order), but this approach also met with counterexamples.

Woolford's (1983) Phrase Structure Congruence model developed these ideas in light of Generative assumptions, relying on congruence between the phrase structure rules of the two languages. However, this model is subject to the same criticisms as Poplack's (1983) model and Bentahila and Davies's (1983) model, in that all three rely on similar word orders as the feature that permits codeswitching, yet the literature reveals many counterexamples.

Discuillo, Muysken and Singh (1988) formulated a restriction on codeswitching in terms of Government (Chomsky 1981). They focus on relations between constituents rather on switching sites, positing that when a Government relation holds between constituents, codeswitching is prohibited. However, this model also met with counterexamples.

Subsequently, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) proposed the Functional Head Constraint model, according to which complements of functional heads cannot switch, while complements of lexical heads can. However, this prediction has also been challenged with counterexamples from various language pairs.

Mahootian (1993) proposed the Null Theory of Codeswitching, positing that codeswitching relies on general principles of phrase structure rather than on constraints that are specific to codeswitching analysis (DJamila 2013, Mahootian and Santorini 1996). Mahootian argues that the head determines the syntactic properties of its complements in codeswitching and in monolingual contexts alike (Mahootian and Santorini 1996). This theory allows switching between any head and its complements, or any other element in the maximal projection of the head, as long as they obey the syntactic requirements of that head (including linear position). Unlike the other models discussed in this section, Mahootian's model allows for the affixation of bound morphemes from one language to free morphemes from the other. Unlike the MLF model, however, Mahootian's model does not assume any asymmetry between the two languages involved in codeswitching.



Joshi (1985) was the first researcher to introduce the concept of asymmetry between the two languages that interact in codeswitching, as well as the concept of unidirectionality. According to this view, closed class items must come from the matrix language. Myers-Scotton (1993) developed Joshi's model into the matrix language model, elaborating the concept of asymmetry from a structural perspective. The matrix language model preserves Joshi's view that system morphemes must come from the matrix language, which also determines the grammatical structure of the utterance as a whole.

#### **4.8 Chapter summary**

Table 4.1 Summarises the key similarities and differences between the models reviewed in this section, as well as their empirical predictions.

Table 4.1: Comparison of structural approaches to codeswitching

Model	Emphasis on content/function distinction?	Restriction on bound morphemes?	Generative?	Asymmetry between languages?	Predictions	Counterexamples?
<b>Linear Order Approach (Poplack 1980)</b>	No	Yes	no	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching where word order differs</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Subcategorisation Principle (Bentahila and Davies 1983)</b>	No	Yes	no	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching where word order differs</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Phase-Structure Congruence Constraint (Woolford, 1983)</b>	No	Yes	Yes	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching where word order differs</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Government Constraint (DiSciullo et al. 1986)</b>	No	no	Yes	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switch under government</li> <li>○ No statement on bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Functional Head Constraint (Belazi et al. 1994)</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching for complements of functional heads</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> <li>○ Switching with complements of lexical heads</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Null Theory of Codeswitching</b>	No	No	No	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Word order determined by heads</li> </ul>	Yes

<b>ng (Mahootian 1993)</b>					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Switching is possible for complements of lexical and functional heads</li> <li>○ Switching is possible with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	
<b>Matrix Frame Model (Myers- Scotton 1993)</b>	Yes	yes	No	Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Word order determined by ML</li> <li>○ All functional heads/morphemes from ML</li> <li>○ No switching with for complements of functional heads (?)</li> <li>○ Switching is possible with bound morphemes (?)</li> </ul>	Yes, esp. from balanced bilinguals

As this comparison indicates, the two models that are currently the most promising are the matrix language model (Joshi 1985, Myers-Scotton 1993, 2016) and the null theory of codeswitching (Mahootian 1993). The model most obviously suited to the current research project is the matrix language model, because it allows for asymmetry between the two languages, and the participants in my study are late and unbalanced bilinguals. However, the predictions of the Null Theory of Codeswitching are also tested, to reveal whether this assumption of asymmetry is essential to a model of codeswitching. Therefore, the approach taken in this thesis will be informed by these two models in particular.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Research questions, hypotheses and methodology**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Beginning with a reminder of the research questions and the hypotheses behind this project (§5.2), the present chapter provides a description of the methods and key tools used for conducting this study.

The chapter begins with a statement of the research questions and hypotheses (§5.2), followed by a discussion of the research design (§5.3), participant metadata (§5.4), data collection methods (§5.5), and transcription method (§5.6). Section 5.6 also addresses the method for distinguishing between codeswitching and borrowing, as discussed in the previous chapter (§4.4). There follows a description of the coding method (§5.7), a description of the quantitative method (§5.8), and a summary of the chapter (§5.9).

#### **5.2 Research questions and hypotheses**

The three research questions behind the present study can be stated as follows:

RQ1: To what extent does the Farsi-English data offer support for the idea that there is an asymmetric relationship between the two languages involved in codeswitching (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016:204).

RQ2: How do the grammatical components of the typologically dissimilar languages Farsi and English interact in bilingual speech?

RQ3: Overall, which model of the structural aspects of codeswitching reviewed in chapter 4 most accurately predicts the patterns found in the Farsi-English data?

As the above research questions indicate, the present study has two main objectives: the first is to describe Farsi-English codeswitching, taking into account typological differences between the two languages, and the second is to explain Farsi-English codeswitching from the perspective of current codeswitching

theories. Thus, RQ1 has both a descriptive focus and a theoretical focus, in the sense that it seeks to establish whether the Farsi-English data offers empirical support for the Matrix Language Hypothesis. RQ2 has a descriptive focus, in that it seeks to establish independently of any theory how codeswitching works in Farsi-English bilingual speech. Finally, RQ3 has a theoretical focus in that it seeks to establish how well existing theories of codeswitching explain the descriptive findings of the present study.

In relation to the above research questions, the following hypotheses can be stated:

H1: I hypothesise that the data will support the claims in the literature that there is an asymmetric relationship between the two languages involved in codeswitching (§4.6), and that Farsi will function more frequently than English as the matrix language.

This hypothesis is motivated by the following considerations. Firstly, it is due to the nature of the participants available for this study, who are unbalanced bilinguals, that Farsi is likely to be the matrix language, although it is likely that there will be some instances of codeswitching for which English is ML (§4.5; §5.4). As Myers Scotton (1993) posits, the matrix language in codeswitching has a significant role in determining the morphosyntactic order of the sentence (§4.5.6), and when elements from both languages appear in a mixed sentence, the morphemes from the matrix language appear more frequently than those from the embedded language. Thus, according to the above hypothesis, Farsi as the dominant language is likely to determine the morphosyntactic order of the codeswitching sentences in most cases.

Thus, despite typological differences between the two languages (see below), I hypothesise that single word insertions such as the following are likely to occur, if Farsi is established as the matrix language:

- English open class words occurring with Farsi affixes or clitics
- English open class words occurring in phrases with Farsi dependents, the order of which adheres to Farsi typology

- The presence of e-ezafe linking English nouns or adjectives with Farsi adjectives or nouns and in possessive constructions
- The presence of English nouns, adjectives and verbs in Farsi light verb constructions.

The reader will observe that these hypotheses relate only to open class expressions. This follows from the Matrix Language Hypothesis: if Farsi is the matrix language, all closed class expressions are predicted to come from Farsi, such that single word insertions will be open-class expressions only. This hypothesis is addressed in Chapter 6.

However, with respect to phrasal and clausal insertions, I hypothesise that English content words may be accompanied by English function words at the phrasal/clausal level, where those phrases or clauses are embedded in Farsi structure. This hypothesis is addressed in Chapter 7.

H2: I hypothesise that the grammatical constraints governing Farsi/English codeswitching correlate with the typological dissimilarities between the two languages.

Table 3.16 is repeated here as table 5.1. The purpose of this table is to outline the major descriptive characteristics of Farsi grammar, with a particular emphasis on morphology and word order, given that the similarities and differences between Farsi and English are expected to play a central role in bilingual speech, and may allow or constrain code switching. Core similarities are shown in green, and core differences in red.

Table 5.1: Summary of structural similarities and differences between Farsi and English

feature	Farsi	English
simple clause (§3.4)		
basic order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ S(O)V (head-final)</li> <li>○ flexible structure</li> <li>○ pro-drop</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ SV(O) (head-initial)</li> <li>○ rigid structure</li> <li>○ non-pro-drop</li> </ul>
NP (§3.5)		

case (lexical N)	absent	absent
plural markers	suffix	suffix
gender	absent	absent
NP syntax	(D)/(Q) Num <b>N (AP)</b> (Rel. Cl.) ( <b>Num NSG</b> )	(D)/(Q) Num ( <b>AP</b> ) <b>N</b> (Rel.Cl) ( <b>Num NPL</b> )
pronouns (§3.6)		
personal	○ no case ○ independent and <b>clitic</b>	○ case ○ independent
possessive	<b>clitic</b>	<b>independent</b>
relative	<b>absent</b>	<b>present</b>
AP (§3.7)		
agreement	<b>absent</b>	<b>absent</b>
inflection for degree	<b>present</b>	<b>present</b>
AP syntax	( <b>ADV</b> ) <b>A (PP)</b>	( <b>ADV</b> ) <b>A (PP)</b>
AdvP (§3.8)		
open/closed class	<b>closed</b>	<b>open</b>
AdvP syntax	( <b>Deg</b> ) <b>Adv</b>	( <b>Deg</b> ) <b>Adv</b>
VP (§3.9)		
LVC	<b>present (widespread)</b>	<b>present (limited)</b>
V-incorporation	<b>present</b>	<b>absent</b>
Subjunctive	<b>present (prefix)</b>	<b>absent</b>
S-V agreement	<b>suffix</b>	<b>suffix</b>
present	<b>prefix/stem</b>	<b>suffix</b>
past	<b>stem change</b>	<b>stem change/suffix</b>
future time	<b>periphrastic</b>	<b>periphrastic</b>
imperfect	<b>suffix</b>	<b>periphrastic</b>
progressive	<b>prefix</b>	<b>periphrastic</b>
habitual	<b>prefix</b>	<b>simple present</b>
subjunctive	<b>prefix</b>	<b>absent</b>
passive	<b>prefix</b>	<b>periphrastic</b>
negation	<b>affix</b>	<b>periphrastic</b>
PP syntax (§3.10)		
preposition/postposition	○ <b>P+NP</b> ○ <b>NP+P</b>	○ <b>P+NP</b>
E-ezafe (§3.11)		
	○ links N+ Adj attributive ○ links possessed + possessor	○ <b>absent</b>
Clause type (§3.12)		

declarative	SOV	SVO
polar interrogative	inversion only	S-V inversion
Wh- interrogative	in situ	ex situ
imperative	subjunctive	infinitive
exclamative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wh-phrase</li> <li>No inversion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wh-phrase</li> <li>Inversion</li> </ul>
Complex sentence (§3.14)		
co-ordination	S & S	S & S
subject clause	present	present
complement clause	present	present
relative clause	postnominal gapping	postnominal relative pronoun/gapping
Topic and focus (§3.15)		
topic	clause initial NP, VP, AP, PP	clause initial NP, PP
focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>clifting (NP, PP, Adverbial)</li> <li>pseudo clefting</li> <li>scrambling</li> <li>intonation</li> <li>focus marker</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>clifting (NP, PP)</li> <li>pseudo clefting</li> <li>fronting (NP, PP)</li> <li>intonation</li> <li>no focus marker</li> </ul>

In more detail, given these similarities and differences, I hypothesise that where the two languages have similar structures, codeswitching will be possible (regardless of any matrix language). Below is a list of such structures, which are relevant to both single word and phrasal/clausal insertions:

- Elements of NP syntax: D/Q/Num N
- AP syntax
- AdvP syntax
- PP syntax (where the order is P NP)
- Clause-initial subject
- Clause-initial topic
- Adverbials in initial/medial/final position



- Clausal co-ordination
- Subject and complement clauses
- Embedded clauses with covert subject co-referential with main clause
- Postnominal relative clauses with gapping
- Clefts and pseudoclefts

In contrast, I hypothesise that where the two languages differ in structure, there may be constraints on codeswitching, particularly in the absence of any evidence supporting the Matrix Language Hypothesis. Below is a list of such structures.

- Elements of NP syntax: Farsi NA vs. English AN
- Farsi verb stem with English inflectional suffix
- English verb stem with Farsi inflectional or negation prefix
- English V+ Farsi bound object pronoun
- Farsi bound pronoun vs. English free pronoun
- Farsi VP and English inflections or English VP and Farsi inflections
- English subject insertions with Farsi subject-verb agreement on Farsi verb
- English verb or object insertions with Farsi OV order (vs. English VO order)
- English object insertions with Farsi DDO
- English NP or P insertions with Farsi P NP and NP P orders
- English noun or adjective phrase insertions with Farsi N AP order (vs. English AP N)
- English non-verbal predicate insertions with Farsi copula enclitic
- English NP insertions with Farsi bound possessive pronoun

- Farsi light verb construction containing English phrasal insertions
- Farsi e-ezafe construction containing English phrasal insertions

H3: I hypothesise that the matrix language model (Myers-Scotton 1993) will most accurately predict the patterns found in the Farsi-English data.

Hypothesis H3 is motivated by the following considerations. Firstly, the matrix language model is different from other models of codeswitching in terms of its reliance not only on empirical findings but also on neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic findings in terms of language production and processing phenomena (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2016), as discussed at some length in the previous chapter (§4.5.6). Secondly, the matrix language model accurately predicts the occurrence of syntactic constructions in codeswitching data that other models predict should not occur (Callahan 2002, 2004), as discussed in the previous chapter (§4.5.6). Thirdly, the matrix language model goes beyond syntax and incorporates pragmatic motivations for codeswitching constructions (Callahan 2004). Finally, a considerable body of research has been conducted to test the model on language pairs including Korean- English, Welsh-English, Spanish-English, Arabic-English, Arabic-French, Turkish-English, German-English, English-African and Turkish-Dutch, and this extensive research has produced generally satisfactory results (§4.5.6).

In order to answer these research questions, it was necessary to collect a sufficient body of data showing examples of Farsi-English codeswitching. Since there was no pre-existing body of data available to me that was fit for this purpose, it was necessary for me to build my own corpus, to which end I carried out a survey in 2015. The next section describes the research design.

### **5.3 Research design**

There are two types of data collection selected to achieve the target objectives of this study. The first is a questionnaire in which the participants are asked questions regarding their linguistic and relevant non-linguistic backgrounds (Appendix 1). The second is selectively transcribed recordings of spontaneous conversation. This

data is then coded and analysed quantitatively. Although the focus of the present study is the structural aspects of codeswitching rather than the sociolinguistic aspects, the questionnaire was nevertheless motivated by the desire to have as complete a picture as possible of the factors governing Farsi-English codeswitching, as well as to ensure the usefulness of the dataset beyond the aims of the present study.

The next section describes how the participants were selected (§5.4.1), ethical considerations (§5.4.2) and the design of the questionnaire and a summary of its findings (§5.4.3).

## **5.4 Participants**

### **5.4.1 Selection**

The sample chosen for the study consists of 20 Farsi-English bilinguals: 11 females and 9 males, ranging in age from 18-30 years, as shown in Table 5.2. The reason for choosing this number of participants is that in the literature that I have reviewed, the average sample size falls between 3 and 40 (Bacus 1996; Eppler 2004; Williams 2005; Van Dulm 2009; Ong and Zhang 2013; Abdl Jalil. S 2009; Nguyen 2012). Therefore 20 represents an approximate median sample size based on the existing literature and should be sufficient to provide representative data.

All participants were required to have lived in the UK more than 6 years. This time period was chosen because it was judged a sufficient period for a speaker to have acquired the linguistic and cultural competence to allow codeswitching.

One reason for selecting this age group is that younger people are more likely to codeswitch than their parents (Pan 1995, Genesee & Nicoladis 2006). A second, more important reason is that younger Farsi speakers are more likely to use English than older Farsi speakers living in L1 English countries. Evidence suggests that the children of immigrants become much more proficient in their L2 than do their parents (Pinker 1994).

Recall that according to researchers in bilingualism, there are several types of bilinguals (§4.2). Due to the nature of the Farsi-speaking community currently present in the UK, the current study focuses on participants who are classified as unbalanced or dominant bilinguals (Moradi 2014). The reason for this classification is that the participants learnt English via instruction at school, which is confirmed by their questionnaire responses. In contrast, their Farsi was acquired from childhood in the home environment, and is thus likely to be the dominant language.

Participants were recruited from the city of Brighton, where there are substantial numbers of Iranian immigrants, and where participants are likely to have similar patterns of codeswitching due to their membership of the same community. In addition, the participants in each group know each other well and socialize together outside of school, college and the work environment. As Gardner-Chloros (1991:79) points out, codeswitching occurs more frequently when the interlocutors know each other very well and are not restricted by the explicit norms that govern formal conversation. Accordingly, very conscious care was taken to select groups in which there was a level of familiarity between the interlocutors.

The participants were contacted in various ways. Eight of the participants were contacted directly via the researcher's social networks. Six of the participants were introduced via the manager of the restaurant where the conversations took place. The remaining six participants were contacted via a friend of the researcher. They were all asked to come to the recording session along with another Farsi speaker that they knew well.

#### **5.4.2 Ethics**

The participants were informed about the general nature of the research by means of a participant information form, which explains the general goals of the study (to investigate how two languages interact in bilingual conversation), what is required of the participants (completion of a questionnaire and to be recorded in conversation with another Farsi-English bilingual), and how their personal data will be used.

At the beginning of each recording session, the participants signed the consent statement at the end of the participant information form to confirm their agreement for their recorded conversation to be used for the present research. Ethical approval for the research procedure was provided by the University of Sussex. Participant information and consent forms can be found in Appendix 1.

### **5.4.3 Questionnaire**

In order to have as much information as possible about the linguistic background of the participants, they were also asked to complete a questionnaire containing 14 questions in two sections. The first section contains seven questions about their background, focusing on information such as sex, age, educational level, profession and which language they use at work and at home in order to confirm that they are English-Farsi bilingual. The second section contains seven questions focusing on their linguistic information/background to confirm that how they acquired English, what they consider to be their dominant language, what language(s) their partners speak, their own perception of their proficiency in each languages. The social context in which they use each language and their own awareness of their tendency to codeswitch. The purpose of these questions is to establish:

- (i) Whether the participants are balanced or unbalanced bilinguals (8-12).
- (ii) The extent to which participants are aware of their own codeswitching, and in what contexts. Although this information is not directly relevant to the present study. It was designated for background information for future research (13-14).

Question 8 required the participants to provide information about the age at which they started learning English, and whether their acquisition of English was naturalistic (outside of school), instructed (at school), or both. Questions 9 and 10 asked the participants to state what language they think is their dominant language, and which language their partners speak. Question 11 required the participants to rate their own proficiency in both Farsi and English on a scale from 1 (basic) to 5

(fully fluent) in speaking, understanding, reading and writing. In an ideal world, the participant would be tested in their language proficiency by a qualified language instructor who could provide a more reliable and objective statement about their relative proficiency in each language, but this was not practical given the resources available for my study. Therefore, rather than have no information about this at all I judged that it may prove useful to collect some indicative information based on the participants' own perception of their language proficiency.

Question 12 asked the participants about the social contexts in which they use each of the languages and with whom. Finally, in questions 13 and 14 the participants were asked about their awareness of switching between the languages within a conversation or when talking about certain topics, with 6 options (never, rarely, sometimes, frequently all the time, not applicable).

It is worth emphasising here that certain questions, particularly those with a sociolinguistic focus, were included not because they were expected to be brought to bear directly on the present study, which focuses on the structural aspects of Farsi-English codeswitching, but because a well-designed corpus should ideally be useful for more than one research project, and the inclusion of this information was likely to ensure the suitability of the corpus for future research into certain sociolinguistic aspects of codeswitching. This design also allowed for the possibility that sociolinguistic factors could cast light on any anomalous findings.

Table 5.2 summarises the general information background of the participants

<b>ID Code</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Means of acquisition of English</b>	<b>Dominant language</b>	<b>Language used at home</b>	<b>Language used in workplace</b>
ID1	F	29	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID2	F	25	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID3	M	25	Instructed	English	Farsi	English
ID4	F	25	Instructed	English	English / Farsi	English
ID5	F	29	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID6	F	18	Instructed	English	Farsi	English
ID7	M	30	Instructed	English	Farsi	English
ID8	F	30	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English

ID9	M	29	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID10	F	29	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID11	F	26	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID12	M	27	Instructed	English	Farsi/English	English
ID13	M	30	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID14	M	26	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID15	F	22	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID16	M	24	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi/English	English
ID17	F	24	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID18	F	22	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi/English	English
ID19	M	23	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi	English
ID20	M	21	Instructed	Farsi	Farsi/English	English

As shown in Table 5.1, the language used at home is Farsi for all the participants except three who use both languages at home. However, they all use English in the workplace. This shows how the speech situation plays a crucial role in determining the language of the conversation.

### 5.5 Spoken data collection

The spoken data consists of recordings of spontaneous speech from the above participants, who were recorded interacting in pairs. Moreover, the majority of the conversations among the participants were between males and females, therefore it was easier to identify the speaker's turn. As explained above (§5.4.1), the participants came along with someone who they knew well and who they had selected themselves to converse in this study. This was deemed beneficial for this study in that it was judged likely to result in more natural and informal conversation. Participants were recorded in pairs, in the order presented in table (5.1); ID1 with ID2, ID3 with ID4, and so on. Since the participants selected their own conversation partners, the researcher did not control the gender balance; in this respect, the data collected for this study would not be ideal for sociolinguistic purposes where a balance between single-sex and mixed conversations would be required, but this was not expected to have consequences for the structural aspects of codeswitching.

The reason for choosing spontaneous conversation is that such a corpus is likely to contain more naturalistic language, because the interaction between the participants

is likely to be relatively relaxed and casual (Pitt et al. 2015). Participants were assured that there was no intention on the part of the researcher to judge their language proficiency, but rather that I was interested in knowing how young speakers of Farsi cope with the social and cultural conditions of life in Brighton. The purpose of this explanation was to encourage them to relax and to be less conscious of the way they speak. Approximately 20-30 minutes of recordings were made for each pair of participants, resulting in a total of 10 hours of recorded conversation. This amount of recorded data was estimated to give rise to approximately 12,486 words, which was expected to provide sufficient data to answer the research questions.

## 5.6 Transcription

Each conversation was orthographically transcribed in its entirety from the recorded spoken language into written form, where Farsi was transliterated into Roman script. Jefferson's (2004) system of transcription notation was adopted, which allows various conversational features to be indicated clearly in the transcription. Table 5.3 summarises the mark-up symbols used to indicate these features, and examples of transcribed texts can be found in Appendix (2). Speakers turn was indicated by the speaker's code (Table 5.2).

Table 5.3: Mark-up symbols (adapted from Jefferson 2004)

Symbol	Function
?	rising intonation
(xxx)	unclear words/phrases
[ ]	overlapping utterances left and right-hand brackets indicate what part of the speech occurred at the same time
(( ))	anthropophonics ((snort)), ((sniff)), ((cough)) ((clear throat)) ((laugh))
[....]	hesitation/ incomplete sentence



After each conversation was transcribed in full, all instances of utterances containing codeswitching were then extracted manually based on the guidelines for how to determine the utterances by University of Chicago Language Development Project Team (2015). Table 5.4 summarises the criteria I relied upon in identifying utterances.

Table 5.4: Criteria for identifying utterances

Criteria	Examples
An <b>utterance</b> may be a word (1), a phrase (2) or a whole sentence (3)-(4)	(1) a. Ok? b. Huh c. mmm d. yeah (2) Main course (3) Well, ok, yeah, I think library is better. (4) Because if they get a room for themselves it is going to be more expensive
A <b>pause</b> for 2 seconds or more indicates the end of an utterance and the start of a new one	(4) It was launched in (3 sec. pause) (5) in January
<b>Self-interruption</b> indicates the end of an utterance and the start of a new one	(6) Why don't you eat it (7) don't you drink that
If speaker 1 is <b>interrupted</b> by speaker 2 but speaker 1 does not pause to acknowledge the interruption, the speech of speaker 1 is treated as a single utterance	(8) Speaker 1: we are going [Speaker 2: no!] on holiday.

If sentences are linked by <b>conjunctions</b> , they are treated as a single utterance	(9) I think she will come to Miami because she has never been before.
In the <b>absence of conjunctions</b> , sentences are treated as two separate utterances	(10) I will try my best, (11) I will try to come
<b>Tag words and phrases</b> are considered part of the utterance that precedes/follows, in the absence of a pause longer than two seconds, or as a separate utterance if there is a pause of more than two seconds	(12) Honey, what do you want to eat here?  (13) Oh my god (3 sec. pause)  (14) I hate you

Once extracted, utterances were fully glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2015), followed by a free translation.

As the present study is concerned with the grammatical aspects of codeswitching, a great deal of caution was taken in transcribing the monolingual utterance preceding and subsequent to the part that was switched. The codeswitched expressions were indicated in **bold**. The following example illustrates this. In this example, the majority of the lexical and grammatical items as well as the word order are Farsi. Thus, the codeswitch into English is marked in **bold**.

- (1) to che mozu?-i-e                      **subject**-esh            o    be-hem   be-gu  
in what topic-INDF-COP.3SG   subject-PRO.3SG DDO to-me    SUBJ-tell. 2SG  
‘In what topic, tell me the subject’

In contrast, in the following example, the majority of the lexical and grammatical items as well as the word order are English. Thus, the codeswitch into Farsi is marked in *italics*:

(2) I am going to have      *baxyari*      with rice

I am going to have      *baxyari*      with rice

‘I am going to have *baxyâri* with rice.’

(3) **we want**      *kashk* o      *bâdemjun*

we want      *curd*      CONJ      *aubergine*

‘We want *curd* and *aubergine*’

Recall from section (§4.4) the distinctions drawn in the literature between codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing. In the current study, codeswitching and codemixing are not viewed as distinct phenomena, and therefore both intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching are referred to as codeswitching. However, I adopt Myers-Scotton’s (1993) view that codeswitching and borrowing can be distinguished by their frequency of occurrence: when a word is used infrequently, in bilingual or multilingual conversation, this is codeswitching. In contrast, when a word from a donor language is used frequently, including by monolingual speakers of the recipient language, this constitutes borrowing. Accordingly, borrowed words have higher frequency, and codeswitched words have lower frequency.

For example, borrowed words like *stadium*, *visa*, *restaurant*, *autobus*, *bank*, and *hotel* are recognised and used by monolingual speakers, and thus occur with higher frequency. These words are also integrated syntactically and morphologically into Farsi (e.g. *estadium-ha* ‘stadiums’). Similarly, expressions from computer

technology and social media like *what'sapp*, *viber*, *instagram*. *Facebook*, *online* are considered borrowings rather than codeswitches.

In contrast, those expressions that would not be recognised or used by monolingual speakers are coded as codeswitches (e.g. place names, which have distinct equivalents in Farsi, such as *swis* 'Switzerland', *misr* 'Egypt').

I relied on my own judgment as a Farsi speaker to distinguish between borrowings and codeswitches.

Finally, interjections such as *wow*, *aha*, *em*, *ah* are rather similar in English and in Farsi. Since they do not participate in syntactic structure, they were set aside for the purpose of this study

Once the data is transcribed, the corpus permits coding of the data (categorisation of specific examples of codeswitching), and quantitative analysis (generalisations over patterns in codeswitching).

## 5.7 Coding

The examples were first sorted into two major groups: (a) those like example (1) above, where an English expression is inserted into a Farsi utterance (i.e. Farsi matrix language), and (b) those like example (2) and (3) above, where a Farsi expression is inserted into an English utterance (i.e. English matrix language). Within each of these categories, the data was then coded as shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Coding of codeswitched expressions

Insertion	Coded by
single word insertions	Category
phrasal insertions	category grammatical function
clausal insertions	coordinate clause subordinate clause

In cases where a single English word was used within a Farsi conversation, its context before and after were also extracted (4). If an English phrase was used, the English phrase was extracted together with the preceding and following Farsi phrases (5). Finally, English clauses were extracted along with the preceding and following Farsi clause (6).

- (4) Ye      **meeting**      ro      bâ      madrasa-ye      Jane      dêr-am  
 INDF      meeting      DDO      with      school-EZ      Jane      have-1SG  
 ‘I have a meeting with Jane’s school.’

- (5) **Station** bayal-e      xuna-sh-e  
 Station      next-EZ      house-PRO.3SG-COP.3SG  
 ‘The station is next to his house.’

- (6) Inja      soltâni-sh      ?âly-e      vali  
 Here      soltani-POSS.3SG      perfect-COP.3SG      but  
**ask them to remove the rice**  
 ask them to remove the rice  
 ‘The Soltani dish here is very good but ask them to remove the rice.’

English single words that are also phrases were distinguished from those that formed a sub-part of a phrase. For example, if a codeswitched noun was used as a whole noun phrase, as in (5), then the insertion was categorised as a noun phrase. In contrast, if a single word occurs as a sub-part of a larger noun phrase, as in (7)

where the adjective *responsible* is the head of a larger adjective phrase, the codeswitch was categorised as a single word insertion.

- (7) cheyadr *responsible* hast-id (responsible) is treated as single word  
 how responsible have-2sg  
 ‘How responsible you are’

In every conversation the matrix language (Myers-Scotton 1993) is in standard font whilst the codeswitched elements are written in bold. If more than one instance of codeswitching occurs within a given utterance, only the codeswitch relevant to the discussion is in bold, and the other is in italics.

## 5.8 Quantitative analysis

The main purpose of quantitative analysis is to provide a general overview of codeswitching patterns in the FED corpus, showing which categories switch, in which contexts, and how frequently.

Subsequently to the completion of the coding, I exported the utterances containing codeswitches into Microsoft Excel, which could then be used to sort them into categories (Table 5.5) and to calculate the frequency of each type of codeswitch.

The findings of this analysis are described in Chapter 6 (§6.3) and Chapter 7 (§7.2).

## 5.8 Chapter summary

The present chapter has set out the research questions and hypotheses (§5.2), which emerged from the literature review presented in the previous chapter. There followed a discussion of the selection of participants (including research ethics) and a questionnaire to establish aspects of their linguistic and non-linguistic backgrounds (§5.4). Section (§5.5 - 5.6) described how the conversations were

recorded and transcribed, and how the instances of codeswitching were extracted and coded (§5.7). Finally, section (§5.8) briefly explained how the coding was conducted.

In the next chapter, I present the findings as they relate to single word insertions. In chapter 7, I present the findings as they relate to phrasal and clausal insertions. Together, chapters 6 and 7 address RQ1 by offering an in-depth description of the structural aspects of Farsi-English codeswitching. In chapter 8, which addresses RQ2/3, I discuss the findings in relation to the codeswitching models reviewed in chapter 4.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Findings: Single word insertions**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

In the present chapter the findings from the application of the research questions to the FED are presented, focusing on single word open class expressions. Closed class expressions will be discussed in the next chapter, as these are relevant at the phrasal and clausal level.

This chapter is divided into 6 sections. Section 6.2 briefly restates the research questions and hypotheses as they relate to single word codeswitches (§5.2). Section 6.3 describes the findings relating to evidence for a matrix language for single word insertions, and how Farsi is identified as the matrix language. Section 6.4 provides a brief overview of the outcome of the quantitative analysis of single word insertions, to show the patterns that emerge from the Farsi-English corpus. In the sections that follow, I offer more detail on the outcome of both coding and quantitative analysis, organised by word class. In section 6.5 I discuss the insertion of English nouns into Farsi speech. In section 6.6 I describe the insertion of English non-finite verbs into Farsi speech. Sections 6.7 and 6.8 set out the findings for the insertion of English adjectives and adverbials, respectively. Finally, section 6.9 offers a summary of the findings relating to single word open class insertions.

#### **6.2 Restatement of hypotheses relating to single word insertions**

In this chapter, with the focus on single word open class expressions, I address the first two research questions stated in the previous chapter (§5.2), which are repeated here:

RQ1: To what extent does the Farsi-English data offer support for the idea that there is an asymmetric relationship between the two languages involved in codeswitching?

RQ2: How do the grammatical components of the typologically dissimilar languages Farsi and English interact in bilingual speech?



Recall from chapter (§5.2) that in relation to RQ1, I hypothesise that the Farsi-English data will support the Matrix Language Hypotheses (Myers-Scotton 2016:204), and that Farsi will function more frequently than English as the matrix language. I therefore expect to find that the insertion of single English words into Farsi phrases will be attested in the data. Therefore, structures such as the following are expected to occur at the level of single word insertions:

- English open class words occurring with Farsi affixes or clitics
- English open class words occurring in phrases with Farsi dependents, the order of which adheres to Farsi typology
- The presence of e-ezafe linking English nouns or adjectives with Farsi adjectives or nouns and in possessive constructions
- The presence of English nouns, adjectives and verbs in Farsi light verb constructions.

With respect to RQ2, recall that I hypothesise that any grammatical constraints governing Farsi/English codeswitching will correlate with the typological dissimilarities between the two languages (§5.2). Thus, I hypothesise that where the two languages have similar structures, codeswitching will be possible (regardless of any matrix language). Below is a list of such structures, which might be expected to allow single word insertions (regardless of any matrix language):

- Elements of NP syntax: D/Q/Num N
- AP syntax
- AdvP syntax
- PP syntax (where the order is P NP)

In contrast, I hypothesise that where the two languages differ in structure, there may be constraints on codeswitching. Below is a list of such structures that might be predicted to constrain open class single word insertions (in the absence of a matrix language).

- Elements of NP syntax: Farsi NA vs. English AN
- Farsi verb stem with English inflectional suffix
- English verb stem with Farsi inflectional or negation prefix

- English V+ Farsi bound object pronoun
- Farsi bound pronoun vs. English free pronoun
- Farsi VP and English inflections or English VP and Farsi inflections

### **6.3 Findings relating to Matrix Language Hypothesis for single word insertions**

Recall from Chapter 4 that certain approaches to codeswitching rely on the concept of asymmetry between the two languages, including the Matrix Language Hypothesis of Myers-Scotton and Jake (2016:204). Evidence for this asymmetry comes from (a) the observation that in codeswitching, the majority of the utterances are in one language, and that the same language provides the grammatical morphemes in codeswitched speech. That dominant language is referred to as the matrix language and the other language is referred to as the embedded language.

To determine whether there is evidence for such asymmetry in the FED, as first step in analysing the data I divided up the utterances containing codeswitching into two main sets, based on which language is the matrix language and which language is the embedded language.

Recall from Chapter 5 that my FED corpus was based on data from 20 participants (§5.4.1). The data contained a total of 1,251 speaker turns. Of these, 80 speaker turns were set aside that were not grammatically informative for this project. These consisted purely of interjections and other expressions that do not form part of any larger grammatical structure (e.g. *yes*, *wow*, *mm*, *huh*). In addition, there were 471 turns that were completely in Farsi and 123 turns that were completely in English. These were also set aside, leaving 577 turns containing codeswitching. For these 577 turns, I applied the University of Chicago Language Development Team's (2015) criteria for identifying utterances (§5.6) and determined that the codeswitched turns consisted of 950 utterances in total. Of these 950 utterances, 568 utterances contained codeswitching and 382 utterances do not. Thus, the core dataset for examining the patterns of codeswitching in the FED consisted of these 568 utterances. Table 6.1 offers a summary of the process of isolating the utterances containing codeswitches.

Table 6.1: Isolating utterances containing codeswitches from the FED

Speaker turns	1251
Set aside turns: not grammatically informative	80
Set aside turns: only in Farsi	471
Set aside turns: only in English	123
Codeswitched turns	577
Utterances in codeswitched turns	950
Set aside utterances: containing no codeswitching	382
Utterances containing codeswitching	568
Utterances containing Farsi insertions into English ML	22
Utterances containing English insertions into Farsi ML	546

As shown in the above table, 568 utterances in the FED contain codeswitching, of which 22 utterances have English as the matrix language: English plays the dominant role, supplying the word order and grammatical elements for the sentence, as illustrated by the following examples:

(1) do you have to be **tiliarder?**

do you have to be billionaire

‘Do you have to be (a) billionaire?’

(2) **un** younger than me

PRO.3SG younger than me

‘She is younger than me.’

- (3) **bâbâ-sh** like the king of the country  
 father-POSS.3SG like the king of the country  
 ‘His father (is) like the king of the country.’

Of the 568 utterances in the FED containing codeswitching, 546 utterances have Farsi as the matrix language, supplying the word order and grammatical elements, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (4) **bâ** **personality-sh** **âshnâ-i**  
 with personality-POSS.3SG familiar-COP.2SG  
 ‘You are familiar with his personality.’

- (5) **faqat** **result** **ro** **did-am**  
 only result DDO see.PST-1SG  
 ‘I just saw the result.’

As the figures in Table 6.1 show, Farsi is clearly the dominant language in the FED. Not only is the number of set aside turns that are only in Farsi (471) much higher than the set aside turns that are only in English (123), but also the number of utterances containing English insertions into a Farsi matrix language frame (546) is much higher than those utterances containing Farsi insertions into an English matrix language frame (22). Thus, the data addresses RQ1 (§6.2) by offering clear support for the matrix language hypothesis. As hypothesised, Farsi functions more frequently than English as the matrix language because the participants in this study are unbalanced bilinguals (§4.5.1). In the remainder of the thesis, Farsi is therefore considered the matrix language and English the embedded language.

#### 6.4 Outcome of quantitative analysis of single word insertions

As shown in Table 6.1, 546 utterances contain codeswitching into Farsi matrix language structures. Of those 546 utterances, 452 contain English open class single word insertions, while 94 contain English phrases inserted into Farsi structures. Moreover, in the whole FED corpus there was only one case of single word insertion of the closed class expressions as example (10). Of the 452 utterances containing English single word insertions, 268 utterances contain only one insertion, as in example (6), while 184 utterances contain more than one single word insertion, as illustrated by examples (7)-(9).

(6) dubare      **try**      kon  
                  again      try      do.2SG  
                  ‘Try again.’

(7) be ?onvan-e **guardian**      bayad      bache ro      **accommodate**      kon-e  
                  as-EZ      guardian      should kid      DDO      accommodate      do-3SG  
                  ‘As a guardian s/he should accommodate the kid’

(8) **starter**                      ham      **cold**      dare      ham      **warm**  
                  starter                      also      cold      have      also      warm  
                  ‘The starter has cold and warm’

- (9) in            **writer**            xeily **popular** o    xeily **famous-e**  
          this        writer            very   popular   and   very   famous-COP.3SG  
          to            reshte-ye        man  
          in            subject-EZ        COP.1SG

‘This writer is very popular and very famous in my subject.’

There are only two cases that English conjunction occurs in Farsi sentence as it is shown in the following example (10).

- (10) ya?ni            Ramadan        na-mi-ri-m        **but**  
          means            Ramadan        NEG-IMPF-go-1PL    CONJ  
          man        fekr            mi-kon-am            ke            be-ri-m  
          PRO.1SG   think I        MPF- do- 1SG            COMP            SUBJ-go-1PL

‘it means we do not go in Ramadan but I think we should go.’

The presence of more than one single word insertion in a subset of the utterances explains why the total number of open class single word insertions (680) is higher than the total number of utterances containing single word insertions (452). Table 6.2 summarises the distribution of English open class single-word insertions into Farsi speech in the FED and cross-references the section below in which each type of insertion is discussed in more detail.

Table 6.2: All English open class single word insertions

<b>Single words</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Without any bound morphemes</b>	<b>With Farsi bound morphemes</b>	<b>With English bound morphemes</b>	<b>With English and Farsi bound morphemes</b>	<b>Section</b>
Single nouns	378 (56%)	143 (38%)	225 (60%)	7 (2%)	3 (1%)	§6.5
Compound nouns	132 (19%)	71 (54%)	61 (46%)	0	0	§6.5.6
Non-finite verbs	81 (12%)	0	0	0	0	§6.6
Adjectives	70 (10%)	38 (54%)	32 (46%)	0	0	§6.7
Adverbs	19 (3%)	0	0	0	0	§6.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>680 (100%)</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	

As Table 6.2 shows, the great majority of English open class single word insertions into Farsi are nouns (75%). The next most frequent category is non-finite verbs (12%), followed by adjectives (10%) and adverbs (3%), in that order.

It is also worth pointing out here that English single word insertions (of the categories noun, verb and adjective) are inserted into Farsi light verb constructions (LVCs) (§3.9.2). This pattern is summarised in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: English open class single word insertions into Farsi LVC (§3.9.2)

<b>Bilingual compounding</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
English nouns + Farsi LVC	16	20%
English infinitive verb + Farsi LVC	59	73%
English adjective + Farsi LVC	6	7%
English adverbs + Farsi LVC	0	0%
Total	81	100%

In the following sections of this chapter, I present the results of the coding underlying Table 6.2 (§6.5-§6.8) and Table 6.3 (§6.9).

### 6.5 English noun insertions

As shown above, the majority of English single word insertions in Farsi are nouns (75%), of which 60% occur with Farsi bound morphemes. Table 6.4 shows the breakdown of this figure, and the following subsections (§6.5.1-§6.5.6) describe the distribution of these nouns in more detail.

Table 6.4: English nouns with Farsi morphemes

<b>The single word inserted in Farsi</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>English nouns with Farsi bound morphemes</b>
English nouns with e-ezafe	35	18%
English nouns with suffix –i (definite and specific)	29	12%
English nouns with plural marker (- <i>hâ</i> )	29	12%
English nouns with definite direct object ( <i>râ</i> )	50	23%
English nouns with possessive pronominal clitics	47	21%
English nouns with copula bound morphemes	30	14%
Total	225	100%





- (15) mi-xâ-d            **gym-e**            zanune            be-zan-e  
 IMPF-want-3SG   gym-EZ            womanly            SUBJ-hit-3SG

‘He wants to open a gym for women (women’s gym).’

The next most common pattern (38% of single noun insertions) is English nouns insertions appearing without any Farsi or English bound morphemes. These insertions are thus ambiguous between single word insertions and the insertion of noun phrases consisting only of a head noun. Although, in the following examples like the ‘station’ in (16) and ‘library’ in (17) inserted in Farsi is an insertion of single word this has the distribution of a phrase so examples like this are treated as a phrasal insertion (§7.5.1).

- (16) **station**            bayal-e            xuna-sh-e  
 station            close-EZ            house-POSS-COP.3SG

‘The station is close to his house.’

- (17) emruz            raft-i            **library?**  
 today            go.PST-2SG            library

‘Did you go to the library today?’

- (18) bebin            **makeup**            xeily            mohem-e  
 look            makeup            very            important-COP.3SG

‘Look, makeup is very important’





### 6.5.2 English nouns in Farsi definite/indefinite noun phrase

In Farsi the suffix *-i* indicates indefiniteness (§3.5.4). A common pattern in the FED is an English single noun insertion marked as indefinite with *-i*. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(26) fardâ                      ye                      **meeting-i**                      dâr-am.

tomorrow                      INDF                      meeting-INDF                      have-1SG

‘Tomorrow I have a meeting.’

(27) **guardian-i**                      ke                      dar                      englis                      sâken                      bash-e

guardian-INDF                      COMP                      in                      England                      stay                      become-3SG

‘A guardian that resides in England.’

(28) man                      hich                      **plan-i**                      na-dâr-am

1SG.PRO                      nothing                      plan-DEM                      NEG-have-1SG

‘I have no plan’

Sometimes English nouns are marked with both the Farsi plural marker and the indefiniteness suffix, as shown below:

(29) *experience*-hâ-i                      dar modre                      **student**-hâ-ye

experience-PL-INDF                      in about                      students-PL-EZ

moxtalefi                      ke                      dâsht-im

different                      COMP                      have.PST.1PL

‘Experiences about different students that we had.’

- (30) yeki      az      manâbe?-e      darâmad      dar      englstan **student-hâ-i**  
 one      of      resource-EZ      income      in      England student-PL-INDF  
 hastand ke      az      xârej      az      keshfar      mi-ay-and  
 cop.3SG COMP from outside      of      country IMPF-come-3PL
- ‘One of the sources of income in England comes from the students who come from abroad.’

Moreover, the Farsi indefinite marker can also occur with English compound nouns, as exemplified below.

- (31) har      **boarding school-i**      CAS-e      xas-e  
 each      boarding school-INDF CAS- EZ      special-EZ  
 xod-esh      o      dâr-e  
 itself- PRO.3SG      DDO      have-3SG
- ‘Each boarding school has their own CAS letter.’

Example (32), in which the English compound noun *hand luggage* forms the head of the construction and is linked to the free possessive pronoun *man* by e-ezafê, forming a construction that could be translated as ‘hand luggage of mine’. In this case, the insertion falls under the category of single word insertion.

- (32) tu      ham      az      **hand luggage-e**      man      estefâde      kon  
 2PRO      too      from      hand luggage-EZ      1PRO      benefit      do.2sg
- ‘You also get benefit of my hand luggage.’ ‘You also (can) use my hand luggage.’

Finally, example (33) illustrates an English noun is double marked for definiteness with both the English definite article and the Farsi definite direct object marker *râ* (§3.5.2).

- (33) **the writer**      o      be-g-i      ke      che      jury      bud-e  
          the writer      DDO      SUBJ-tell-2SG      COMP      what      type      be.PST-3SG.  
          ‘You should mention what the writer was like.’

In the example below, the English noun is preceded by the Farsi indefinite determiner (§3.5.4).

- (34) ye      **complication**      dêr-e  
          DET      complication      have-3SG  
          ‘It has a complication.’

Similarly, the English noun in the following example has both a Farsi indefinite determiner and a Farsi definite direct object marker *râ*; the co-occurrence of these expressions is grammatical in Farsi (§3.5.2).

- (35) ye      **meeting**      ro      bâ      madrase-ye      Jane      dêr-am  
          DET      meeting      DDO      with      school-EZ      Jane      have-1SG  
          ‘I have a meeting with Jane’s school.’

The following example illustrates an English noun co-occurring with a Farsi demonstrative determiner:

- (36) in            **business**            o            zad-and  
                  this            business            DDO            hit.PST-3PL  
                  ‘They have built this business.’

### 6.5.3 English nouns in Farsi quantifier and numeral phrases

English nouns frequently occur in the FED preceded by Farsi quantifiers and determiners. In Farsi, the noun always takes the singular form in these constructions (§3.5.6), as do the English noun insertions in the same constructions. This is exemplified by the following examples:

- (37) du-tâ                    **paper-e**                    dige    baz    mi-tun-am    be-nvis-am  
                  two-CLF                    paper-EZ                    another again    IMPF-can-1SG    SUBJ-write 1SG  
                  ‘I can write another two papers.’

- (38) chand-tâ                    **advertisement**                    age    be-zâr-i  
                  some-CLF                    advertisement                    if    SUBJ-put-2SG  
                  ‘If you put some advertisements’

- (39) mi-xâ-m                                    ye    seriye **experience**    anjam                    be-d-am  
                  IMPF-want-1SG                    INDF    some    experience    do                    SUBJ-do-1SG  
                  ‘I want to get some experience.’



In contrast, the following example shows an English noun followed by a Farsi quantifier, and the English noun is marked plural with the Farsi plural marker (*-hâ*).

- (40) bazi      **nightshift**-hâ      zendegi-ye      *routine*      o  
          some      nightshift-PL      life-EZ      routine      DDO  
          az      dast      mi-d-e  
          from      hand      IMPF-give-3SG  
          ‘Nightshifts take your life routine away.’

In example (41), the English noun is preceded by the Farsi indefinite determiner *ye* and the quantifier *seriye*, ‘some’, and carries two suffixes: the plural marker *-hâ* and the indefiniteness marker *-iy*.

- (41) ye      seriye      **complex**-hâ-iy      dâr-e      bâ      yânun-e Iran  
          DET      some      complex-PL-INDF      have-3SG      with      law-EZ Iran  
          ‘There are some complexities with Iranian rules.’

#### 6.5.4 English nouns in Farsi preposition phrase

The following examples illustrate English single noun insertions into a Farsi prepositional phrases.

- (42) az      **introduction**      shoru?      na-kon  
          from      introduction      start      neg-do 2sg  
          ‘Do not start from the introduction.’

- (43) maʔmulan      ruye      **speaking**      talâsh      na-dar-and  
 usually      on      speaking      effort      NEG-have-3PL  
 ‘They do not usually put effort on speaking.’

In example (44), the English noun occurs with a Farsi complex preposition, and also carries the Farsi e-ezafe morpheme.

- (44) dar morede      **progress-e**      bache-hâ-shon      soʔâl      mi-kard-and  
 in about      progress-EZ      kid-PL-PRO.POSS.3PL      question      IMPF-do-3PL  
 ‘They were talking about their children’s progress.’

In the following example, the English noun *detail* heads an adverbial preposition phrase *be swrate...* ‘in a way of ...’.

- (45) vali      be swrate      **detail**      na  
 but      in way      detail      NEG  
 ‘But not in detail.’

### 6.5.5 English nouns in subject noun phrases

The FED corpus contains several cases of English nouns occurring in Farsi subject noun phrases, in sentences headed by copular and non-copular verbs. This is illustrated by the following examples.

- (46) **business-e**      xodam-e  
 business-EZ      myself-COP.1SG  
 ‘This is my own business.’

(47) **boyfriend-esh**                      fardâ                      mi-âd.

boyfriend-3SG.PRO                      tomorrow                      IMPF-come.3SG

‘Her boyfriend is coming tomorrow.’

(48) **student-hâ**                      chini                      o                      rusieye                      hastand

student-PL                      Chisense                      CONJ                      Russian                      COP.3.PL

‘The students are from China and Russia.’

(49) in                      **holiday-hâ**                      kar                      dast-e-mun                      gozâsht-e

these                      holiday-PL                      work                      hand-EZ-poss.1PL                      put.PST-COP.3SG

‘These holidays have really distracted our minds.’

(Lit. ‘These holidays put a lot of work in our hands.’)

### 6.5.6 English nouns in object/complement noun phrases

In the FED, it is also common to find English nouns occurring in object/complement noun phrases. In the following examples, the English noun heads a direct object noun phrase, and is marked with the direct object maker *râ*.

(50) **tea-et**                      o                      be-xor

tea-2SG.PRO                      DDO                      SUBJ-drink 2SG

‘Drink your tea.’

- (51) age      be- xâ- d      **boarding school**-esh      ro      ?avaz      kon-e  
 if      SUBJ-want- 3SG      boarding school-3SG.PRO      DDO      change      do-3SG  
 ‘If s/he wants to change the boarding school.’

In the following example, the English noun *guardian* co-occurs with an English adjective *local*, and heads the NP complement of the Farsi noun *naqah* ‘role’, linked by e-ezafe. The whole NP *naqsh-e local guardian* ‘role of local guardian’ is marked by the Farsi definite direct object marker.

- (52) ye-seriye      kas-âiy      dâr-im      ke      naqsh-e  
 DET-some      person-PL      have-1PL      COMP      role-EZ  
**local guardian**      o      bâzi      mi-kon-an  
 local guardian      DDO      play      IMPF-do-3PL  
 ‘We have some people who play the role of a local guardian.’

## 6.6 English non-finite verb insertions

When it comes to the insertion of English verbs, the FED corpus contains only bare infinitives, which thus appear as single-word verb phrases. There are no cases of English inflected verbs appearing as single word insertions, nor are there any cases of English verb stems occurring with Farsi verbal inflections.

Moreover, all cases of English verb insertions occur within the structure of a bilingual complex verb: a combination of the English bare infinitive verb and a Farsi inflected copula, auxiliary or light verb (§3.9.2). As Table 6.5 shows, this is the most frequent source of the bilingual complex verb construction in the FED. The other cases are discussed below (§6.9).

Table 6.5: English insertions in Farsi LVCs

<b>bilingual compounding</b>	<b>number</b>	<b>%</b>
English nouns in Farsi LVCs	16	20%
English infinitive verbs in Farsi LVCs	59	73%
English adjectives in Farsi LVCs	6	7%
English adverbs in Farsi LVCs	0	0%
English prepositions in Farsi LVCs	0	0%
total	81	100%

As illustrated by the following examples, the formation of bilingual complex verbs corresponds to its equivalent Farsi structure, in the sense that the English verb occupies the position of complement of the Farsi light verb that it precedes. Recall, however, that this position in the corresponding monolingual complex verb construction can be occupied by Farsi verbs, nouns or adjectives.

- (53) nehayatan      mi-xâ-m      ke      **submit**      kon-am  
 finally      IMPF-want-1SG      COMP      submit      do-1SG  
 ‘I finally want to submit it.’

- (54) **cancel**      kard-am      o      be-hesh      goft-am  
 cancel      do.PST-1SG      and      to-3SG.PRO      tell.PST-1SG  
 ke      kâr      dâr-am  
 COMP      work      have-1SG  
 ‘I cancelled and told him that I am busy.’

- (55) hame    **miss**                    mi-kon-an  
          all        miss                   IMPF-do-3PL  
          ‘Everyone misses (someone).’

- (56) ye-jur-âiy                    **disagree**                    bud- am  
          some-sort- PL                   disagree                   be.PST-1SG  
          ‘I was kind of disagreeing.’

In example (57), the English verb precedes the Farsi bound copula verb *-ast* and is preceded by a Farsi degree modifier:

- (57) dige    xeily    **exaggerate**-ast                    ke    agar    estefade    be- kon- am  
          again    very    exaggerate-COP.3SG    COMP    if    benefit    SUBJ-do-1SG  
          ‘It is exaggerated if I use it more.’

- (58) **organise**                    kardan-e                    essay-hâ-m                    xeily    saxt-e  
          organise                    to.do-EZ                    essay-PL-1SG                    very    hard-COP.3SG  
          ‘it is hard to organise my essays.’

- (59) hamdigar                    o    bâyard                    **push**    kon-im  
          each other                    DDO    must                    push    do-1PL  
          ‘We must push each other (to study)’

- (60) bâyad      **focus**      kon-am      ru      in      mozu?i      ke  
 should      focus      do-1SG      on      this      topic      COMP  
 cherâ      Iran      ertefâ?i      na-karde  
 why      Iran      progress      NEG-do. PSTP 3SG  
 ‘I should focus on the area of why Iran has not progressed.’

In the example below, English phrasal verb comes with Farsi auxiliary *kardan* ‘to do’

- (61) ba?dan      **catch up**      mi-kon-am      *highlight-esh*  
 later      catch up      IMPF-do-1SG      highlight-POSS.3SG  
 o      ziâd      mohim      nist  
 DDO      very      important      NEG.3SG  
 ‘I will catch up later, the highlight is not very important.’

In the following examples, what could be analysed as an English verb phrase insertion (consisting of verb plus noun phrase object) are interrupted by Farsi morphology. Therefore, I consider such examples as two separate insertions: one verb and one noun phrase.

- (62) lotfan      *ticket-hâ*      ro      **print**      kon  
 please      ticket-PL      DDO      print      do.2SG  
 ‘Please print the tickets.’

- (63)    *mi-goft*                      *mi-xâ-m*                      *charge-am*    *o*                      **refund** *kon-i*
- IMPF-say.PST.3SG       IMPF-want-1SG   charge-1SG   DDO   refund do-2SG
- ‘He said I want to refund my charge.’

### 6.7 English adjective insertions

The number of inserted English adjectives in the FED is 41, and, with a single exception as example (72) these adjectives are predicative rather than attributive. Like nouns, when embedded into Farsi the English adjectives can be affixed with Farsi bound morphemes. As shown by Table 6.6, the most frequent case is for the English predicative adjective to be affixed by the Farsi bound copula morpheme.

Table 6.6 English adjectives embedded in Farsi

Markers	Numbers	English adjectives embedded in Farsi
Bound copula morpheme	27	66%
Comparative markers	4	10%
English adjective with ‘ <i>budan</i> ’ ‘to be’	7	17%
English adjective with ‘ <i>shodan</i> ’ ‘becomes’	3	7%
Total	41	100%



The following examples illustrate this copular construction.

- (64) shâyad- am      beshe    ye              kuchulu-ham    **funny-e**  
          maybe -too      become    INDF              small-too              funny-COP.3SG  
          ‘Maybe it is also a bit funny.’

- (65) vaghty    ziâd      harf    mi-zan-i              mi-g-e  
          when    more    talk    IMPF-hit-2SG              IMPF-say-2SG  
          cheqad              **talkative- e**  
          how much              talkative-COP.3SG  
          ‘When you talk more, they say how talkative s/he is.’

- (66) barâye              mâ              xeily              **important-e**  
          for              1PL.PRO              very              important-COP.3SG  
          ‘It is very important for us.’

- (67) yazâ-hâ-sh              xeily              **delicious- an**  
          food-PL-POSS.PRO.3SG              very              delicious –COP.3PL  
          ‘The foods are delicious.’

In the following example, the English adjective is suffixed with both the comparative morpheme (*-tar*) and bound copula morpheme in Farsi (*-e*)

- (68) havâ                      **nice**-tar-e  
    weather                      nice-COMP-COP.3SG  
    ‘The weather is nicer.’

In the following example, the English adjective occurs with the free copula verb *shodan* ‘become’:

- (69) mi-ân                                      landan                      o                      mâ  
    IMPF-come-3PL                      London                      CONJ                      PRO.1PL  
    **voluntary**                      shod-im  
    voluntary                      become.PST.1PL  
    ‘They come to London and we become volunteered.’

Similarly, the following example illustrates an English adjective appearing with the free copula verb *budan* ‘to be’:

- (70) dar              vâqe?                      hamin-ke              goft-i                      **critical**                      bud- am  
    in                      reality                      same-COMP              say.PST.2SG              critical                      be.PST.1SG  
    ‘Actually, as you said I was critical.’

Finally, the following example illustrates an English adjective co-occurring with the free copula verb *hastan* ‘to be’, and the English adjective is also preceded by a Farsi degree modifier *xeily* ‘very’:

- (71) xeily      **interested**-an      ke      yazâ-hâ-ye  
               very      interested-COP.3PL      COMP      food-PL-EZ  
               jaded      ro      be-xor-an  
               new      DDO      SUBJ-eat-3PL

‘They are very interested in eating new foods.’

In the following example, the English adjective, which is attributive (the noun is understood), is suffixed with comparative marker (*-tar*) in Farsi, an affix limited to adjectives in Farsi.

- (72) bishtar      **advanced**-tar      kar      ro      moqâyese      be-kon-am  
               more      advance-COMPR      work      DDO      compare      SUBJ-do-1SG

‘I compare the work in (a) more advanced (way).’

In example (73), the English adjective *general* heads an adverbial preposition phrase in the construction *be swrate...* ‘in a way of ...’.

- (73) ye      chiz-i      be-swrat-e      koly  
               DET.INDF      thing-INDF      to-way-EZ      general  
               o      **general**      mi-dun-am  
               CONJ      general      IMPF-know-1SG

‘I know something in general.’

### 6.8 English adverb insertions

The total numbers of English adverb insertions in the FED is 19, which indicates a lower frequency of adverb insertion than adjective insertion. While English adverbs frequently occur as single-word phrases, and are thus phrasal in their distribution, I have opted to include the description of single word adverb insertions in the present chapter, reserving the description of adverbial phrases of other categories in the next chapter.

The following example illustrates the insertion of an English adverb of frequency. The clause-final position of the adverb here is more characteristic of English than of Farsi (§3.8).

- (74) xub      mi-dun-i                      dige    bastagi dar-e                      **sometimes**  
       good      IMPF-know-2SG            other    depend have-3SG            sometimes  
       ‘You know well, it depends sometimes.’

The following examples illustrate the insertion of adverbs of time. In these examples, the placement of the adverb is consistent with Farsi word order.

- (75) man                      **already**                      unjâ    did-am  
       1SG.PRO                  already                      there    see.PST.1SG  
       dust-â-m                                      mi-g-an  
       friend-PL-POSS.1SG                      IMPF-say-3PL  
       ‘I saw my friends there already said.’

- (76) man                    **tomorrow**      shâm              mi- xâ-m  
    1SG.PR              tomorrow      dinner              IMPF-want-1SG  
    bâ              dust-â-m                              be-ra-m              birun  
    with              friend-PL-1SG.POSS              SUBJ-go-1SG      out

‘Tomorrow I am going to go out for dinner with my friends.’

In examples (77)-(80), the English adverb *already* appears in a range of positions:

- (77) to                    **already**              xeily      matlab dâr-i              be-nevis-i  
    PRO.2SG              already              very      topic      have-1SG              SUBJ-write-2SG

‘You already have loads of topics to write.’

- (78) havâ                    **already**              sard-e                              dust      dar-am  
    weather              already              cold-COP.3SG              like      have-1SG  
    ye-chiz-e              *warm*              be-xor-am  
    INDF-thing-EZ      warm              subj-EAT-1SG

‘The weather already is cold, I like to have (eat) something warm.’

- (79) **already**              chehar              hezar              loyat      dâr-am  
    already              four              thousand              word      have-1sg

‘Already I have four thousand words.’

- (80) hame raft-and **already!**  
all leave.pst-3pl already  
‘everyone left already!’

Further examples of English adverb insertions follow.

- (81) ye juraiy are **exactly**  
somehow yes exactly  
‘somehow yes, exactly.’

- (82) **basically** in mi-xâd gym be-zan-e  
basically this IMPF-want gym SUBJ-hit-3SG  
‘Basically, he wants to set up a gym.’

The following example stands out as the sole case in the FED corpus of a single word adverb insertion that is a degree modifier.

- (83) inquiry **really** farq dar-e  
inquiry really different have-3sg  
‘The inquiry is really different.’

### 6.9 English insertions in Farsi light verb constructions

As described above (§3.9.2), the complex predicate (light verb construction) is highly productive in Farsi. In my FED corpus there are 81 bilingual light verb

constructions formed with Farsi light verbs and English insertions of various categories. Table 6.4 is repeated here:

Table 6.7: English insertions in Farsi LVCs

<b>bilingual compounding</b>	<b>number</b>	<b>%</b>
English nouns in Farsi LVCs	16	20%
English infinitive verbs in Farsi LVCs	59	73%
English adjectives in Farsi LVCs	6	7%
English adverbs in Farsi LVCs	0	0%
English prepositions in Farsi LVCs	0	0%
total	81	100%

As the above table shows, the vast majority of bilingual LVCs (73%) are formed with Farsi auxiliary *kardan* ‘to do’ and English verbs, as described above (§6.6). The majority of the English verbs are non-finite verbs, but there are a few exceptions. The next most frequent type of bilingual LVC in the FED corpus is formed by inserting English nouns into the Farsi LVC. There are only six English adjectives occurring in Farsi LVCs, and the FED corpus contains no examples of English adverbs or prepositions inserted into Farsi LVCs. In some cases, these are single nouns within a larger Farsi noun phrase, as illustrated by the following example:

- (84) man                      hich                      **plan-i**                      na-dâr-am  
          1SG.PRO                      nothing                      plan-DEM                      NEG-have-1SG  
          ‘I have no plan.’

In other cases, a single noun that heads its own noun phrase is inserted into the LVC:

- (85) ye        chizi        ke        **rice**        dâshte        bâshe  
          DET        thing        COMP        rice        have        do.3SG  
          ‘something that comes with rice’

In the following example the English noun is inserted into a relativized LVC:

- (86) Georgia        ham        be-hem        goft  
          Georgia        also        to-1SG.PRO        say.PST.3SG  
          **meeting-i**        ke        dâsht-im  
          meeting-DEM        COMP        have.PST.3PL  
          ‘Georgia told me about the meeting we had.’

- (87) be        gole        xodeshun        **freedom**        na-dâr-an  
          to        speech        themselves        freedom        NEG.have-3PL  
          ‘They say they do not have freedom.’

The following example illustrates a compound noun that heads its own NP within the Farsi LVC.

- (88) dar        har        term        **parents’ evening**        dâr-im  
          in        each        term        parents evening        have-1PL  
          ‘We have parents’ evening once a term.’



The following examples (89) and (90) show the English finite verbs with Farsi LVs to form bilingual compounding.

- (89) *barâye*                      *BBC*   **applied**                      *kard-am*  
          *for*                      *BBC*   *applied*                      *do.PST-1SG*  
          ‘I applied for BBC.’

- (90) *xâhar-am*                      **missed**                      *karde*                      *man*                      *o*  
          *sister-poss.1sg*                      *missed*                      *do.PST.3SG*                      *PRO.1SG*                      *ddo*  
          ‘My sister missed me.’

In some cases, the insertion is ambiguous between noun and verb (§6.6):

- (91) *man*                      **panic**                      *mi-kon-am*  
          *1SG.PRO*                      *panic*                      *IMPF-do-1SG*  
          ‘I get panicked.’ (I panic, I scare)

- (92) *un*                      *xune*                      *ro*                      **paint**                      *kon-im*  
          *that*                      *hous*                      *DDO*                      *paint*                      *do-1PL*  
          ‘We paint that house.’

- (93) baraye                      man                      *base*-eshan                      in-e  
          For                      PRO.1SG                      base-POSS.3PL                      this-COP.3PL  
          ke                      bayad                      **focus**                      kon-am  
          COMP                      should                      focus                      do-1SG  
          ‘For me, I need to focus on their bases’

- (94) mi-â-i                                      in                      o                      bâham                      **share** kon-im  
          IMPF-come-2SG                      this                      DDO                      together                      share                      do-1PL  
          ‘Let’s share this together.’

The following examples illustrate that English adjectives can also appear within Farsi LVCs to form bilingual compounds, although as mentioned above, there are only six such cases in the FED corpus. In these cases, the adjective appears as a single-word phrase.

- (95) dar vâqe?                      **critical**                      bud-am                      xeili  
          in fact                      critical                      COP-1SG                      very  
          ‘I was very critical indeed.’

- (96) xeily                      shluy                      bud                      **short staffed**                      dasht-im  
          very                      busy                      COP.3SG                      short staffed                      have.PST-1PL  
          ‘It was very busy, we were short staffed.’

(97)	to	hamishe	busy	<b>busy</b>	mi-kon-i
	PRO.2SG	always	busy	busy	IMPF-do-2SG
‘You are always busy.’					

### 6.10 Summary

The present chapter addressed RQ1 and RQ2 as it relates to single word insertions.

In regard to RQ1, as hypothesised, the FED offers substantial evidence for an asymmetry between the two languages involved in codeswitching, with Farsi functioning predominantly as the matrix language as a consequence of the participants for this study being unbalanced bilinguals. Evidence for Farsi as the matrix language comes not only from the fact that Farsi-only utterances outweigh English-only utterances in the corpus, but also from the fact that the vast majority of utterances containing codeswitches are characterised by Farsi word order and Farsi grammatical elements.

As hypothesised, the insertion of single English words into Farsi phrases is attested in the FED, and the following findings support the hypotheses:

- English open class words occur with Farsi affixes or clitics (§6.5)
- English open class words occur in phrases with Farsi dependents, the order of which adheres to Farsi typology (§6.5)
- e-ezafé links English nouns or adjectives with Farsi adjectives or nouns (§6.5)
- English nouns, adjectives and verbs are inserted into Farsi light verb constructions (§6.9)

With respect to RQ2, which focuses on the description of how English and Farsi interact structurally, this was explored for single word open-class insertions. I hypothesised that any grammatical constraints governing Farsi/English codeswitching will correlate with the typological dissimilarities between the two languages (§5.2). Thus, I hypothesised that where the two languages have similar

structures, codeswitching would be possible (regardless of any matrix language). As hypothesised, the following structures allow codeswitching:

- Elements of NP syntax: D/Q/Num N (§6.5)
- AP syntax (§6.7)
- AdvP syntax (§6.8)
- PP syntax (where the order is P NP) (§6.5.4)

In contrast, I hypothesised that where the two languages differ in structure, there may be the following constraints on codeswitching in the absence of a matrix language:

- Elements of NP syntax: Farsi NA vs. English AN
- Farsi verb stem with English inflectional suffix
- English verb stem with Farsi inflectional or negation prefix
- English V+ Farsi bound object pronoun
- Farsi bound pronoun vs. English free pronoun
- Farsi VP and English inflections or English VP and Farsi inflections.
- pronoun insertion was not attested in the FED corpus

Given that Farsi was established as the matrix language, what the FED in fact shows is that Farsi is dominant in terms of grammatical structure, and that therefore English single word insertions freely occur in Farsi word order (e.g. NA) and with Farsi bound grammatical morphemes, including bound pronouns.

However, there is one important exception to this generalisation: English verbs do not appear with Farsi verbal inflections. Instead, English bare infinitive verbs are inserted into Farsi LVCs, and the Farsi light verb carries the inflection.

The main reason for this, apart from the fact that the Farsi verb system is a far more complex than the English one, is that the Farsi verb does not have a simple root whose position can be occupied by an English verb stem. To this extent, the

hypothesis that typological dissimilarity may constrain codeswitching receives support from the findings set out in this chapter.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Phrasal and clausal insertions**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

In the present chapter the findings from the application of the research questions to the FED are presented, focusing on phrasal and clausal level expressions, both of which include closed class expressions. Phrasal insertions refer to English constituents at the level of phrase that are inserted into Farsi syntactic frames. This type of insertion can be classified as intra-sentential (Poplack 1980). Clausal insertion refers to clause level insertions and is classified as inter-sentential codeswitching (Poplack 1980). It is worth highlighting at this point that compared to single word insertions, switching at the phrasal level was relatively common in the FED corpus (§7.4), but switching at the clausal level was not common (§7.10).

This chapter is divided into 13 sections. Section 7.2 briefly restates the research questions and hypotheses as they relate to phrasal and clausal insertions. Section 7.3 is related to the findings relating to matrix language for phrasal insertions. Section 7.4 provides the outcome of the quantitative analysis of phrasal insertions. Section 7.5-7.9 summarise the findings as they relate to English noun phrase insertions, verb phrase insertions, adjective phrase insertions, preposition phrase insertions and adverb phrase insertions, respectively. Section 7.10 summarises the outcome of the quantitative analysis of clausal insertions, and in sections 7.11 and 7.12 I describe the findings as they relate to coordination and subordination. Finally, section 7.13 offers a summary of the findings relating to phrasal and clausal insertions.

#### **7.2 Restatement of hypotheses relating to phrasal and clausal insertions**

The previous chapter focused on evidence for Farsi as the matrix language in the FED corpus (RQ1) and on RQ2, repeated below, as it relates to open class single word insertions.

RQ2: How do the grammatical components of the typologically dissimilar languages Farsi and English interact in bilingual speech?

The focus of the present chapter is to address RQ2, the descriptive research question, as it relates to phrasal and clausal insertions, both of which include closed class expressions. Recall from Chapter 5 (§5.2) that in relation to RQ2, I hypothesise that any grammatical constraints governing Farsi/English codeswitching will correlate with the typological dissimilarities between the two languages. Thus, I hypothesise that where the two languages have similar structures, codeswitching will be possible (regardless of any matrix language). Below is a list of such structures, which might be expected to allow phrasal or clausal insertions:

- Clause-initial subject
- Clause-initial topic
- Adverbials in initial/medial/final position
- Clausal co-ordination
- Subject and complement clauses
- Embedded clauses with covert subject co-referential with main clause
- Postnominal relative clauses with gapping
- Clefts and pseudoclefts

In contrast, I hypothesise that where the two languages differ in structure, there may be constraints on codeswitching. Given the support provided in the previous chapter for Farsi as the matrix language in the FED corpus, it is hypothesised that the following Farsi-governed structures will be attested in the corpus:

- English subject insertions with Farsi subject-verb agreement on Farsi verb
- English verb or object insertions with Farsi OV order (vs. English VO order)
- English object insertions with Farsi DDO
- English NP or P insertions with Farsi P NP and NP P orders
- English noun or adjective phrase insertions with Farsi N AP order (vs. English AP N)
- English non-verbal predicate insertions with Farsi copula enclitic
- English NP insertions with Farsi bound possessive pronoun
- Farsi light verb construction containing English phrasal insertions
- Farsi e-ezaf construction containing and English phrasal insertions

### 7.3 Findings relating to matrix language for phrasal and clausal insertions

Recall from earlier chapters the criteria for establishing matrix language (§5.7; §6.3). According to these criteria,

- the matrix language provides the majority of expressions in the utterance, and also provides the functional morphemes (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002);
- inflection on the finite verb is taken as the criterion to determine the matrix language of the clause (Owens 2000);
- the embedded language insertion is expected to be a grammatical constituent at the level of the word, the phrase or the clause (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1997, Muysken 2000).

It is important to revisit these criteria because in this chapter we examine the insertion of larger units than single words, and therefore the question of how to determine the matrix language becomes more challenging. For example, in the following example the majority of the expressions, including functional morphemes, are from Farsi, which entails that Farsi might be considered the matrix language:

(1) let's plan            faqat   inke   essay   be-neves-im

Let's plan            just   to   essay   SUBJ-write-1PL

‘Let's plan for this just to write essays.’

However, the fact that the main verb comes English, and selects the embedded clause casts doubt on Farsi as the matrix language. Additionally, *let's plan* does not form a grammatical constituent, whereas the embedded clause does, which offers further support to the idea that this example illustrates the insertion of a Farsi constituent in to an English matrix language sentence. The following example illustrates a similar case:



(2) we want kashk o bâdemjun

we want curd CONJ aubergine

‘We want curd and aubergine.’

It is also worth observing that the word order of this sentence is not natural in Farsi, where the canonical word order would be SOV (§3.4). This lends further support to the analysis of such cases as English matrix language sentences.

With respect to complex sentences, examples like those below are classified as having English as the matrix language, because English provides the finite verb in the main clause. Furthermore, the English part is not a constituent while the Farsi part is, which also identifies English as the matrix language.

(3) my friend said be-r-im *Dubai*

my friend said SUBJ-go-1PL Dubai

‘My friend said let’s go to Dubai.’

(4) can I hope ke tâ fardâ o pas fardâ tamum be-sh-am

can I hope COMP till tomorrow CONJ next tomorrow finish SUBJ-become-SG

‘Can I hope to finish it by tomorrow or the day after?’

Similarly, the following examples illustrate English matrix language utterances with Farsi subordinate clauses:

- (5) age      kâr-âm      zud      tamum      be- she      I will join  
 if      work-1SG      soon      finish      SUBJ-become      I will join  
 ‘If I finish my work early, I will join (you).’

- (6) I really would like to come especially

I really would like to come especially

chun      Sâyer      o      dust dâr-am      be-bin-am  
 because      Saxer      DDO      like have-1SG      SUBJ-see-1SG

‘I really would like to come because I would like to meet Saxer

#### 7.4 Outcome of quantitative analysis of phrasal insertions

Recall Table 6.1 from the previous chapter, which is repeated here as Table 7.1. As this table shows, the FED corpus contains 568 utterances containing codeswitching, of which 546 utterances represent Farsi as the matrix language containing insertions from English, the embedded language.

Table 7.1: isolating utterances containing codeswitching from the FED

Speaker turns	1251
Set aside turns: not grammatically informative	80
Set aside turns: only in Farsi	471
Set aside turns: only in English	123
Codeswitched turns	577
Utterances in codeswitched turns	950
Set aside utterances: containing no codeswitching	382
Utterances containing codeswitching	568
Utterances containing Farsi insertions into English ML	22
Utterances containing English insertions into Farsi ML	546

Within those 546 utterances, there are 94 English phrasal insertions. The breakdown of phrasal insertions by category is summarised in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: English Phrasal insertions in Farsi

English phrasal insertions	Number	Percentage
Noun phrase	47	50%
Verb phrase	12	13%
Preposition phrase	6	6%
Adjective phrase	14	15%
Adverb phrase	15	16%
Total	94	100%

As this table shows, the noun phrase has the highest frequency (50%), while the preposition phrase has the lowest frequency (6%).

## 7.5 English noun phrase insertions

Noun phrase insertions occur in a range of forms, which include phrases consisting only of the head noun, including compounds, phrases consisting of noun plus pre-modifying adjective and phrases consisting of noun plus determiner (§7.4.1). Noun phrase insertions also occur in a range of structural contexts, including within Farsi possessive constructions and in Farsi preposition phrases and quantifier phrases; noun phrase insertions can also perform the grammatical functions of subject, subject predicative complement and direct object.

### 7.5.1 English noun phrase insertions: form

Table 7.3 breaks down the total number of English noun phrase insertions in the FED corpus according to form. The remainder of this subsection illustrates each of these forms.

Table 7.3: English Noun Phrases in Farsi: form

English noun phrase insertions	Numbers	Percentage
Head noun only	35	74%
Premodified noun phrase	8	17%
Noun plus determiner	4	9%
Total	47	100%

As shown in Table 7.3, the most common type of noun phrase insertion involves the form head noun only. Recall from the previous chapter (§6.5.1) that some cases of noun insertion have been analysed as single word insertions. For example, there are cases where the English noun takes Farsi affixes or determiners (7) and I have analysed such cases as single word insertions rather than phrasal insertions:

- (7) ye            seriye            **complex-hâ-iy**
- DET        some            complex-PL-INDF
- dâr-e            bâ        yânun-e        Iran
- have-3SG        with    law-EZ        Iran
- ‘There are some complexities with Iranian rules.’

However, there are other cases in the FED corpus where a single noun insertion has the status of a phrase, since the noun phrase does not contain any other elements. Such cases illustrated by examples (8)-(10) have been analysed as phrasal insertions. It is worth observing that while these singular count nouns cannot form single-word phrases in English (and must occur with determiners), the corresponding nouns in Farsi could occur without determiners in these contexts.

- (8) emruz                  raft-i                  **library?**  
 today                  go.PST-2SG                  library  
 ‘Did you go to the library today?’

- (9) **station**                  bayal-e                  xuna-sh-e  
 station                  close-EZ                  house-POSS-COP.3SG  
 ‘The station is close to his house.’

- (10) vaytike                  **students**                  vâred-e                  inglis                  mi-sh-e  
 when                  students                  enter-EZ                  England                  IMPF-become-3SG  
 ‘When students enter England’

The next most frequent type of noun phrase insertion in the FED corpus, according to form, is the premodified noun. In this type of noun phrase insertion, the English head noun is premodified by an English attributive adjective phrase. The following examples illustrate this.

- (11) **private**                  **yacht**                  ye                  kam                  gerun-e  
 private                  yacht                  INDF                  little                  expensive-COP.3SG  
 ‘Private yacht is a bit expensive.’

- (12) age                  âdam                  mi-xâ-d                  be-r-e                  lab-e  
 if                  human                  IMPF-want-3SG                  SUBJ-go-3SG                  edge-EZ

daryâ hâl kon-e, bâyard be-re **private beach**

sea enjoy do-3SG should SUBJ-go-3SG private beach

‘If someone wants to enjoy at the sea should go to a private beach.’

(13) ru be ru-ye **Lebanese restaurant** kabâb-esh

opposite-EZ Lebanese restaurant kebab-POSS.3SG

xeily xush maza-s

very delicious taste-cop.3SG

‘It is opposite to the Lebanese restaurant and its kabab is very delicious.’

(14) hotel Meriden **very nice private beach** dar-e

hotel Meriden very nice private beach have-3sg

‘Meridien Hotel has a very nice private beach.’

(15) Brighton **mini London-e**

Brighton mini London-cop.3sg

‘Brighton is a mini London.’

(16) un doxtari ro ke be-hesh

that girl DDO COMP to-PRO.3SG

goft-im **happy birthday**

say.PST-1PL    happy birthday

‘The girl whom we told happy birthday.’

- (17)    **poor us**            yazâ-hâ-sh                            xeily    *delicious-* an  
           poor us            food-PL-POSS.PRO.3SG            very    delicious –COP.3PL  
           ‘poor us, the foods are very delicious.’

The following example (18) is particularly interesting, since the insertion falls between a single word insertion (the head noun is premodified) and a phrasal insertion (the determiner is Farsi). I discuss this case in the following chapter (§8).

- (18)    in            **sick people**    bâ    *family*            mi-r-an            landan  
           DET    sick people    with    family            IMPF-go-3PL    London  
           ‘These sick people go to London with their families.’

Observe from example (19) that the Farsi direct object marker *o* not only occurs with English single noun insertions, as we saw in the previous chapter (§6.5), but also with English noun phrase insertions. As this example illustrates, the English NP follows the Farsi word order (the modifier *skin* follows the head noun *laser*), and the two insertions are linked by e-ezafe. In addition, the Farsi direct object marker follows the whole noun phrase. Recall from Chapter 3 that e-ezafe links heads (§3.11). Thus, *laser* is the head and *skin* is a phrasal insertion.





(22)	mi-g-e	ke	<b>an application</b>	o
	IMPF-say-3SG	COMP	an application	CONJ
	ye	<i>business plan</i>	mi-sh-e	1000 pond
	INDF	business plan	IMPF-become-3SG	1000 pounds

‘He says that an application and a business plan costs £1000.’

In example (23), two English noun phrases consisting only of head nouns are conjoined by means of the English conjunction *and*, forming a conjoined English noun phrase.

(23)	Tenerife	bâyad	be-r-im	<b>weather and price</b>
	Tenerife	must	subj-go-1pl	weather and price
	xeili	xub-e		
	very	good-cop.3sg		

‘We should go to Tenerife the weather and price is very good.’

### 7.5.2 English noun phrase insertions: distribution

In this section, the main focus is on the distribution of English noun phrase insertions, summarised in Table 7.4. It is worth making explicit that this categorisation according to distribution groups together discourse/grammatical functions like topic, subject, predicative complement, object and adverbial with cases where the insertion occurs inside a Farsi phrase that has its own independent grammatical function, which is not described here. As shown by this table, the most

frequent type of noun phrase insertion in terms of distribution in the FED corpus is the insertion of an English noun phrase inside a Farsi possessive construction. The least frequent is in the insertion of an English noun phrase in the adverbial function, which occurs only once in the FED corpus.

The various distributions summarised in Table 7.4 are illustrated by the examples that follow in this section.

Table 7.4: English Noun Phrases in Farsi: distribution

English noun phrase insertions	Numbers	Percentage
In Farsi possessive construction ( <i>-esh</i> type)	8	17%
In Farsi e-ezafé construction	3	6%
In Farsi preposition phrase	9	19%
In Farsi quantifier phrase	5	11%
In Farsi topic	1	2%
English noun phrase as subject	7	15%
English noun phrase as predicative complement	3	6%
English noun phrase in direct object position	10	21%
English noun phrase as adverbial	1	2%
Total	47	100%

Examples (24) and (25) illustrate the insertion of English noun phrases into Farsi possessive constructions, where the noun phrases is followed by a possessive pronominal clitic. Note once more that, as in example (21) the English noun carries its own possessive determiner, and the whole English noun phrase is also marked by the Farsi bound possessive pronoun.

(24) hata **my niece**-am

even my niece-POSS.1SG

‘even my niece too’

- (25)    **his**                 **lifestyle-esh**                 avaz                 shod  
         his                 lifestyle-POSS.3SG                 change                 become.PST.3SG  
         ‘his lifestyle changed.’

Unlike the above examples, the following examples show a different structure where the English noun is not double marked for possession but only marked by the Farsi possessive morpheme.

- (26) **Palm private beach-esh**                      ʔâli-e  
Palm    private beach-POSS.3SG                  perfect-COP.3SG  
‘Palm (hotel)’s private beach is amazing.’

- (27) **portion-esh**                      bozorg-e  
 portion-POSS.3SG                      big-COP.3SG  
 ‘His portion is big’

- (28) **the deadline-esh**                      key-e  
deadline-POSS.3SG                      when-COP.3SG  
'When is his deadline.'

In example (29), the English NP, which occurs inside the Farsi possessive construction, is double marked for plural with English (-s plural) and the Farsi plural marker (-*hâ*).

- (29)    **regular customer-s-hâ-m**                      bishtar                      xarej-i-an  
                  regular customers-PL-PL-POSS.1SG    more                      outside-DET-COP.3PL  
                  ‘My regular customers are more non-Iranians.’

The following examples show the English noun phrase inserted into the e-ezafe construction. Recall from Chapter 3 that e-ezafe can link a head noun to an adjectival postmodifier phrase (§3.5.6) and can also link a head noun to a complement noun phrase to form a type of possessive construction (§3.6.2).

In example (30) the English noun phrase *local guardian* complements the Farsi head noun *naqsh* and the two are linked by e-ezafe.

- (30)    ye                      seriye                      kas-â-y                      dâr-im  
                  INDF                      some                      person-PL-DET                      have-1PL  
                  ke    naqsh-e                      **local guardian**                      o    bazi    mi-kon-an  
                  COMP   role-EZ                      local guardian                      DDO   play   IMPF-do-1PL  
                  ‘we have some people who play the role of local guardian.’

Similarly, in example (31) the noun phrase headed by the English compound noun *weight training* complements the Farsi head noun *qesmat* in the e-ezafe construction.

- (31) qesmat-e      **weight training**      bud-and  
                  section-EZ      weight training      be.PST-3PL

‘They were in (the) weight training section.’

Compare examples (30) and (31) with example (32), in which the English compound noun *hand luggage* forms the head of the construction and is linked to the free possessive pronoun *man* by e-ezafe, forming a construction that could be translated as ‘hand luggage of mine’. In this case, the insertion falls under the category of single word insertion (§6.5.2).

- (32) tu                      ham      az                      **hand luggage-e**  
                  2PRO                      too      from                      hand luggage-EZ  
                  man                      estefâde                      kon  
                  PRO.1SG                      benefit                      do.2sg

‘You also get benefit of my hand luggage.’ ‘You also (can) use my hand luggage.’

The following examples illustrate the insertion of an English noun phrase into a Farsi preposition phrase.

- (33) *disagree*                      bâsh-i                      bâ      **the person**  
                  disagree                      COP-2SG                      with      the person

‘You have to disagree with the person.’

(34) masalan        da morde        **the history of other commissions**

for example    in about        the history of other commissions

be-nevis-i

SUBJ-write-2SG

‘For example, write about the history of other commissions.’

(35) tu        **research main body**    tozih        dâd-am

in        research main body    explain        give.PST-1SG

‘I explained it in the research main body.’

(36) bâ        **child students visa**        pedar    o        madar

with    child students visa        father    CONJ    mother

ham    mi-tun-an        be-yâ-n        bache    ro        be-bin-an

too    IMPF-can-3PL    SUBJ-come-3PL        kid    DDO    SUBJ-see-3PL

‘With the child students visa even the parents can come over to visit the kid.’

(37) shab    tuye    **match of the day**        tamâshâ        mi-kon-am

night    in        match of the day        watch        IMPF-do-1SG

‘Tonight I will watch it in match of the day.’

- (38) shanbe      bâyard      be-ra-m      *London*      *facial*  
 Saturday      should      SUBJ-go-1SG      london      facial  
 dêr-am      dar      **Harley Medical Group**  
 have-1SG      in      Harley Medical Group  
 ‘On Saturday I need to go to London, I have a facial in Harley Medical Group.’

The following examples illustrate the insertion of an English noun phrase into a Farsi quantifier phrase. I am analysing Farsi expressions such as *chand* ‘some’ and *faqat* ‘only’ as quantifiers which modify nouns and numerals. Recall that the gloss (CLA) stands for suffix (-tâ) which marks Farsi number classifier (§3.5.5).

- (39) chand-tâ      **article-s**      xund-am  
 some-CLA      article-PL      read.PST-1SG  
 ‘I read some articles’

- (40) faqat      **six people**      âmad-an  
 only      six people      come.PST-3PL  
 ‘only 6 people came’

I consider next the cases where the English noun phrase independently performs a given discourse or grammatical function within the Farsi clause, rather than occurring within a Farsi phrase that has its own independent discourse or grammatical function. In example (41), the noun phrase insertion *the bread* serves

as a topic noun phrase within the Farsi sentence. This is the only such case in the FED corpus.

- (41) **the bread**      in                      lab-â-sh                      tafâvote  
                  the bread      DET                      lip-PL-POSS.3SG                      different  
                  ‘The bread, it’s sides are different.’

In the FED corpus, there are six instances of the English noun phrase as subject. The following examples illustrate this.

- (42) **assistantship**                      xeily                      saxt-e  
                  assistantship                      very                      hard-COP.3SG  
                  ‘assistantship is very hard.’

In the following example (43), the English noun phrase does not carry the Farsi plural marker but the English plural affix -s.

- (43)      vaytike                      **students**                      vâred-e                      inglis                      mi-sh-e  
                  when                      student-PL                      enter-EZ                      England      IMPF-become-3SG  
                  ‘When students enter England’

- (44) **private**                      **yacht**                      ye                      kam                      gerun-e  
                  private                      yacht                      INDF                      little                      expensive-COP.3SG  
                  ‘Private yacht is a bit expensive.’



As shown in Table 7.4, the occurrence of an English noun phrase as subject predicative complement is not common in the FED corpus. These are shown below.

- (45)    visa-shun                      **tier 4 child students visa**            ast  
           visa-POSS.3PL                tier 4 child stidents visa            COP.3SG  
           ‘their visa is (a) tier 4 child students visa.’
- (46)    be-r-im                      bar-e                      unja            **roof-top garden-e**  
           SUBJ-go-1PL                bar-INDF                there            roof-top garden-COP.3SG  
           ‘let’s go to the bar, it is a roof top garden.’

The English noun phrase is inserted into direct object position within a Farsi clause nine times in the FED corpus. The following examples illustrate this. Note that the English noun phrase is marked with the Farsi definite direct object marker *ro* in examples **Error! Reference source not found.**-(49).

- (47)    naqsh-e                      **local guardian**                      o            bâzi            mi-kon-an  
           play-EZ                      local guardian                      DDO            play            IMPF-do-3PL  
           ‘They play the role of guardian.’
- (48)    **two to three advantage-s**                      ro            *pick up*                      mi-kon-i  
           two to three disadvantage-PL                      DDO            pick up                      IMPF-do-2SG  
           ‘You pick up two to three disadvantages’

- (49) ehtemâlan ye **local guardian** ro lâzem dâri-d  
 perhaps INDEF local guardian DDO need have-2PL  
 ‘Perhaps you need a local guardian.’

Recall from (§3.5.2) the direct object marker in Farsi structure is not always present. This is the case in example (50).

- (50) madam ke un CAS gerefte va  
 as long as comp PRO.3SG CAS get.PSTP.3SG CONJ  
**tier 4 child students visa** dâr-e mi-tun-e unja be-mun-e  
 tier 4 child students visa have-3SG IMPF-can-3SG there SUBJ-stay-3SG  
 ‘As long as he has got CAS (letter) and has tier 4 students visa he can stay there.’

Finally, in a few cases, the inserted English noun phrase occurs in the adverbial function. This is illustrated by the following examples.

- (51) **forty minute-s** mâ ro goft-an beshin  
 forty minute-PL PRO.1PL DDO tell.PST.3SG sit1PL  
 ‘They told us to sit (and wait) for 40 minutes.’

## 7.6 English verb phrase insertions

Recall from Table 7.2 that English verb phrase insertions are relatively common in the FED corpus, which has 12 such cases out of a total of 94 phrasal insertions in total. In this section verb phrase insertions are classified into the following descriptive categories: finite verb phrase insertions with subject, non-finite verb phrase insertions with and without subject, and verb phrase insertions into Farsi light verb constructions.

The following example (52) illustrates a non-finite VP insertion, in which the English verb phrase *continue writing* is coordinated with the Farsi verb phrase *ʔâzeme in doxtar be-sha-m* ‘go to (see) that girl’, and both verb phrases are in the scope of the modal expression *bâyad*. Recall that Farsi is a pro-drop language; here the subject is not expressed, and the unexpressed subject’s person and number features are indicated by the first person singular subject agreement inflection on the verb *be-sha-m*, ‘become’. In this example, the non-finite verb *ʔâzem* ‘go’ complements the light verb *besham* ‘become’ in a light verb construction (§3.9.2).

(52)	sobh	bâyad	ʔâzeme	in	doxtar	be-sha-m
	tomorrow	must	go	INDF	girl	SUBJ-become-1SG
	baʔd-esh	<b>continue writing</b>				
	later-PRO-3SG	continue writing				
	‘tomorrow (morning) I must go to (see) that girl, (and) after that, continue writing.’					

The following example (53) is a complex NP headed by *chiz-hâ-iy* ‘things’, which contains a relative clause (in square brackets), and the relative clause contains another embedded clause (also in square brackets). The English insertion is a finite verb phrase insertion without a subject; here the absence of a subject is due to the

relative clause structure. Recall that Farsi allows gapping in such constructions, like English (§3.14.3).

- (53)    un                    chiz-hâ-iy                    [ke    ehsâs                    kard-am  
           those                thing-PL-INDF            COMP   feel                    do.PST-1SG

[**ke    make sense va whatever**]]

COMP   make sense CONJ whatever

‘those things I thought make sense and whatever’

In example (54), the English non-finite verb phrase is inserted into an embedded clause, introduced with the Farsi complementizer *ke* ‘that’, and lacks an overt subject. In this case, the unexpressed subject of the embedded clause is interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the main clause, which is again indicated by the agreement features on the verb *goftan* ‘say’.

- (54) baʔd            goft-an            ke                    **change location**  
           later            say.PST-3PL    COMP                change the location

‘Later they said they would change the location.’

A similar case is illustrated by (55), the difference being that the non-finite verb phrase contains the infinitival *to* particle. Nevertheless, the unexpressed subject of the embedded clause is interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the main clause, *Englis-hâ* ‘the English’.

- (55) Englis-hâ      az      ghabl      goft-an      **to get shuttle**  
 English-PL      from      before      say.PST.3PL      to get shuttle

‘From the beginning the English said they would get the shuttle.’

In the following example, the English non-finite verb phrase insertion occurs as one of the complements of the Farsi light verb construction *komak kardan* ‘to help’. The other complement is the second person singular clitic object pronoun *-et*. This verb phrase insertion thus also lacks a subject. It is worth observing however that if the sentence was fully in Farsi the verb ‘buy’ would be inflected to show the person and number features of the subject (second person singular).

- (56) bezâr      komak-et      kon-am      **to buy the tickets**  
 let      help- PRO.2SG      do-1SG      to buy the tickets

‘Let me help you to buy the tickets.’

In the following example (57) the English non-finite verb phrase insertion *book transfer* follows the Farsi word order and occurs within a Farsi light verb construction headed by *kardan* ‘to do’, thus forming a bilingual compound verb (§6.6). (In this example, *ya?ni* is a discourse marker that can be translated as ‘it means that’. This expression has the effect of capturing the attention of the interlocutor.)

- (57) ya?ni      **transfer**      **book**      kard-im  
 mean      transfer      book      do.PST-1PL

‘It means that we booked the transfer.’

Example (58) illustrates a similar case:

(58)	mâ	<b>table</b>	<b>reserve</b>	kard-im
	PRO.1PL	table	reserve	do.PST.1PL
‘We reserved a table.’				

### 7.7 English adjective phrase insertions

As shown in Table 7.2 the number of inserted English adjective phrases in the FED corpus is 14. What emerges clearly from the analysis of the examples is that the most common pattern in the FED corpus is the insertion of predicative adjective phrases. However, there are a few examples of attributive adjective phrase insertions. For example, (59) illustrates the insertion of a predicative adjective phrase *so sunny* consisting of an English adjective premodified by an English intensifier. Together with the co-ordinated Farsi adjective phrase *xeili xub* ‘very good’, this adjective phrase modifies the inserted noun *weekend*.

(59)	un	hafte	<i>weekend-e</i>	xeili	xub-i	dâsht-im	<b>so sunny</b>
	DEM	week	weekend	very	good-DET	have.PST-1PL	so sunny
‘The other week we had a good and so sunny weekend.’							

Example (60) also illustrates the insertion of a predicative adjective phrase. In this example, *very drowsy* modifies the noun (*jur* ‘sort’), which occurs as the subject predicative complement of the copula.

(60) hamishe in-jur-im **very drowsy**

always DET-sort-COP.1SG very drowsy

‘I am always (a) very drowsy sort (of person).’

The following examples illustrate the insertion of predicative adjective phrases. In (60), the inserted adjective phrase occurs without a Farsi copula, whereas in the examples that follow, the adjective phrase insertions occur with the Farsi copula.

(61) niece-et **so cute-e**

niece-POSS.2SG so cute-COP.3SG

‘Your niece is so cute.’

(62) xeili xub-e vali *BBC* **so hard-e**

very good-COP.3SG CONJ BBC so hard-COP.3SG

‘BBC is very good but so hard (to get the job).’

(63) Cambridge **so good-e**

Cambridge so good-COP.3SG

‘Cambridge is so good.’

Example (64) contains both an English adjective phrase and two English noun phrases embedded in Farsi structure.

- (64) *essay-hâ-m*                      **very difficult-an**                      *dar mord-e*  
 essay-PL-1SG                      very difficult-COP.3SG                      about-EZ  
*maritime industry-e*                      *Iran-e*  
 maritime industry-EZ                      Iran-COP.3SG  
 ‘My essays are very difficult, they are about the maritime industry of Iran.’

In example (65) the two English adjectives are conjoined to form a predicative adjective phrase.

- (65) *cherâ mokalama-t*                      *enqad*                      **deep and personal-e**  
 why conversation-POSS.2SG that much deep and personal-COP.3SG  
 ‘Why is your conversation so deep and personal?’

Example (66) illustrates the insertion of a comparative English predicative adjective phrase. In this case, the adjective phrase occurs without a copula.

- (66) *are, un*                      **younger than me**  
 yes, PRO.3SG                      younger than me  
 ‘Yes, she is younger than me.’

Example (67) is interesting because the insertion *a little bit* is literally a noun phrase headed by the noun *bit* and containing the attributive adjective phrase *little* as well as the determiner *a*. However, it is worth observing that this expression is used in English to premodify adjectives: here, it modifies the elided adjective *sard* ‘cold’. Therefore, while it is strictly speaking a noun phrase insertion, it has the distribution of predicative adjective phrase.



- (67) na-mishe      goft                      sard-e                      vali      **a little bit**  
 NEG-can              say.PST.3SG      cold-COP.3SG              CONJ      a little bit  
 ‘It is not cold but a little bit.

### 7.8 English preposition phrase insertions

The total number of English preposition phrase insertions in the FED is seven, which indicates that the frequency of preposition phrase insertion is lower than that of other phrasal categories. These insertions perform various functions within the clause. In example (68) the preposition phrase postmodifies *doxtar* ‘girl’, a word order that is also characteristic of Farsi.

- (68) in              doxtar-e              **from China**  
 DET      girl-DET              from China  
 ‘the girl from China’

Similarly, the English preposition phrase in (69) postmodifies *maqale* ‘article’.

- (69) daram                      ye                      maqale                      mi-nevis-am  
 PRES.PROG.1SG              INDF                      article                      IMPF-write-1SG  
**about Kubaneh women**  
 about Kubaneh women  
 ‘I am writing an article about Kubaneh women.’

In example (70) the English preposition phrase modifies the Farsi adverb *cheqadr* ‘how much’.

- (70)    *cheqadr*            **in details**            *mi-r-i*            *be*            *in*            *pesare*  
           how. much        in details            IMPF-go-2SG    to            DEM        boy  
           ‘You go into a lot of detail about this boy.’

In example (71) the English preposition phrase performs the function of temporal adverbial, a clause-level modifier.

- (71)    *xub*        *ye*                            *tur-ish*            *mi-kon-im*            **for an hour**  
           well        INDF                            type-3SG            IMPF-do-1SG            for an hour  
           ‘Well, we will handle it for an hour.’

Similarly, the insertion in (72) functions as a clause-level modifier. The English expression *near* can be an adjective, but in that case, it typically appears in the construction ‘*near to*’. In example (72), *near* patterns more like a preposition, taking the noun phrase complement *45 minutes*.

- (72)    *râjeb-e*            *time-esh*            **near 45 minute-s**            *mâ*  
           about-EZ            time-POSS.3SG            near 45 minute-PL            PRO.1PL  
           *ro*                            *goft-an*                            *be-shin*  
           DDO                            say.PST-3SG                            SUBJ-sit  
           ‘About the time, we sat near 45 minutes.’

In the following example (73), the English preposition phrase also functions as a clause-level modifier.

(73)	vali	<b>in my view,</b>	baʔd	nazar-e	xodet
	CONJ	in my view	later	openion-EZ	yourself
	o	toye	<i>conclusion</i>	mi-g-i	
	DDO	in	conclusion	IMPF-tell-1SG	
‘but in my view, later you tell your opinion in conclusion.’					

Finally, in example (74), the English preposition phrase is in topic position.

(74)	<b>for me,</b> tozih	dad-am	dar mord-e	<i>writer</i>
	for me, explain	give.PST-1SG	inabout-EZ	writer
‘For me, I explained about the writer.’				

### 7.9 English adverb phrase insertions

As shown in Table 7.2, the FED corpus contains 15 cases of English adverb phrase insertions into Farsi structure. In all such cases, the adverb phrase functions as a modifier at the clausal level or at the verb phrase level. For the descriptive purposes of this section, I have relied on the categories of adverbs in English from Penston (2009). For example, in (75) the adverb *basically* functions as a focusing adverb at the clausal level.

- (75) **basically**      *the prince*      mi-xâ-d      *gym*      be-zan-e  
 basically      the prince      IMPF-want-2SG      gym      SUBJ-hit 2SG  
 ‘Basically, the prince wants to open a gym.’

In the following example, the adverb *already* functions as an adverb of (relative) time at the clausal level.

- (76) **already**      chehâar      hezâr-tâ      dâr-am  
 already      four      thousand-CLF      have-1SG  
 ‘I already have four thousand words.’

In contrast, in example (77) the same adverb occurs between the subject and predicate modifies the verb phrase.

- (77) man      **already**      unja      did-am      dust-a-m      mi-g-an  
 1SG.PRO      already      there      see.PST.1SG      friend-PL-POSS.1SG      IMPF-say-3PL  
 ‘I saw my friends there already said.’

In the following example, the adverb phrase *once a month* functions as an adverbial of frequency at the clausal level.

- (78) **once a month**      mi-ra-m      restorânt  
 once a month      IMPF-go-1SG      restaurant  
 ‘I am going to restaurant once a month.’

In example (79) the adverb phrase *tomorrow* functions as an adverbial of time at the level of the verb phrase.

- (79)    man                    **tomorrow**        shâm                mi- xâ-m  
              1SG.pro                tomorrow        dinner               IMPF-want-1SG  
              bâ        dust-â-m                                be-ra-m        birun  
              with        friend-PL-1SG.POSS                SUBJ-go-1SG    out  
              ‘Tomorrow I am going to go out with my friends for dinner.’

In example (80) the adverb phrase *sometimes* functions as an adverbial of frequency at the clausal level, this time occurring clause-finally:

- (80)    xub        mi-dun-i                                bastagi        dar-e                **sometimes**  
              well        impf-know-2sg                depend                have-cop.3sg    sometimes  
              ‘Well, you know it depends sometimes.’

- (81)    xub        plan        **as usual**  
              good    plan        as usual  
              ‘Good plan as usual.’

In example (82), the adverb phrase *always* functions as an adverb of frequency at the clausal level, although the clause it modifies is largely elided:

- (82) har vaght man bâ to  
 any time 1SG.PRO with 2SG.PRO  
 inj-am **always** rice  
 here-COP.1SG always rice  
 ‘Whenever we are here, (you) always (ask for) rice.’

In example (83), the adverb expression *actually* functions as an adverbial of attitude at the clause level. In addition, the expression *the point is*, although it has subject-verb structure, is used as a fixed expression that has adverbial status, also expressing attitude or speaker viewpoint.

- (83) **actually,** *the point is,* kashk ba bademjun  
 actually the point is curd with aubergine  
 dar-am mi-mir-am bara-sh  
 have-1sg impf-die-1sg for-3sg  
 ‘Actually, the point is I am dying for curd with aubergine.’

In example (84) the expression *one by one*, while strictly a noun phrase by category, again functions as a fixed expression that can be described as complex adverb, functioning as an adverbial of manner at the clause level.

- (84) **one by one** âvord-an hame ro  
 one by one bring.PST.1SG all DDO  
 ‘They brought them one by one.’

### 7.10 Outcome of quantitative analysis of clausal insertions (inter-clausal codeswitches)

Recall from Table 7.1 that the FED corpus contains 568 utterances containing codeswitching, of which 546 utterances represent Farsi as the matrix language containing insertions from English, the embedded language. Among these insertions there were 35 instances of clausal insertions into Farsi matrix language utterances (§7.3). Table 7.5 shows a breakdown of those clausal insertions into co-ordinate clauses and subordinate clauses. As this table shows, the more frequent type of clausal insertion is the subordinate clause.

Table 7.5 Clausal insertions: co-ordinate and subordinate

<b>Clausal insertion</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
English co-ordinate clause	10	27%
English subordinate clause	25	73%
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 7.6 shows a breakdown of the subordinate clause insertions in the FED corpus according to function. As this table shows, the most frequent function of subordinate clause insertions is the adverbial function. Complement clause insertions and relative clause insertions occur in very small numbers, and there are no subject clause insertions.

Table 7.6 Subordinate clause insertions by function

<b>Subordinate clause: function</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Subject clause	0	0%
Complement clause	2	8%
Adverbial clause	22	88%
Relative clause	1	4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 7.7 shows a breakdown of the subordinate clause insertions in the FED corpus according to form (clause type). As this table shows, the most frequent form of subordinate clause insertions is the declarative clause. Interrogative, imperative and exclamative clause insertions occur in small numbers.

Table 7.7 Subordinate clause insertions by form (clause type)

<b>Subordinate clause: form</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Declarative clause	19	76%
Interrogative clause	1	4%
Imperative clause	4	11%
Exclamative	1	4%
<b>Total</b>	25	100%

Co-ordinate clause insertions are described in more detail in the following section (§7.11), followed by a description of subordinate clause insertions (§7.12).

### 7.11 Coordination

Clausal co-ordination falls into the categories of conjunctive ‘and’, disjunctive ‘or’ and adversative ‘but’ (Aarts 2011). In the FED corpus, co-ordinate clauses are joined by either Farsi conjunctions or English conjunctions. However, the English conjunctions appeared rarely and the few cases where this occurred were limited to the English conjunctions *and* and *but*. The more frequent conjunction is the Farsi expression *vali*, ‘but’, which joins a clause in Farsi to the adjacent English clause. There were no examples of disjunctive clausal co-ordination in the FED corpus.

Beginning with conjunctive co-ordination, in example (85), the English conjunctive expression *and* introduces the English co-ordinate clause.



- (85) tu chaspid-e bud-i be chahâr divar-i  
 PRO.2SG stick-PSTP COP-PST-2SG to four wall-INDF

**and I am studying a mortgage course**

and I am studying a mortgage course

‘You are totally free and I am studying a mortgage course.’

In contrast, in the following examples the Farsi conjunctive expressions *va* and *vali* link the English and Farsi clauses, showing that the English clause may precede or follow the conjunction.

- (86) **he brings his equipments** va man anjâm mi-d-am  
 he brings his equipment CONJ PRO.1SG do IMPF-give-1SG

‘He brings his equipment and I do the training.’

- (87) xeily âdam ziâd-e vali **it is very competitive**  
 very person much-COP.3SG CONJ it is very competitive

‘There are many applicants and it is very competitive.’

Turning to adversative co-ordination, in the following examples, the English co-ordinated clause is linked to the Farsi clause by the Farsi adversative conjunction *vali* ‘but’. As these examples show once more, the English clause may occur before or after the conjunction:

- (88) pas      barâye              las fegas –ham              bâyard    visa      be-gir-i  
          then    to                      Las Vegas- too              have    visa      SUBJ-get- 2SG

vali **I need to get to Miami**

but I need to get to Miami

‘I also need a visa to get to Las Vegas, but I need to get to Miami.’

- (89) inja      soltâni-sh                      ?âly-e                      vali  
          here      soltani-pro.3SG              perfect-COP.3SG              but

**ask them to remove the rice**

ask them to remove the rice

‘The Soltani dish here is very good but ask them to remove the rice.’

- (90) ye      ?ede              goft-an              ke              in      xub-e  
          DET    group              say.PST.3PL      COMP              this      good-COP.2SG

vali **I decided to go to Kevin**

CONJ I decided to go to Kevin

‘Some people recommended him but I decided to go to Kevin.’.

- (91) **I have not been to Macara**    vali      mi-bin-am      ke      xub-e  
          I have not been to Macara      CONJ    IMPF-see-1SG    COMP    good-COP.3SG

‘I have not been to Macara but it is really good.’

- (92) **I am quite fussy**      vali    inja    sultani-sh      ?âly-e  
          I am quite fussy      CONJ    here    Sultani-POSS.3SG      superb-COP.3SG  
          ‘I am quite fussy but the Sultani here is superb.’

In the following examples English adversative conjunction *but* introduces the English clauses.

- (93) fardâ              mi- xâ- m              be- ra-m              Morocco  
          tomorrow      IMPF-want-1SG      SUBJ-go-1SG      Morocco  
          **but it is quite expensive**  
          but it is quite expensive  
          ‘Tomorrow I want to go to Morocco, but it is quite expensive.’

- (94) dah    sâl              ba              ham-and  
          ten    year              with              together-COP.3PL  
          **but they do not get married at the end**  
          but they do not get married at the end  
          ‘The spend ten years together but they do not get married at the end.’

## 7.12 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses occur in a range of functions, which may include subject clause, complement clause, adverbial clause and relative clause (§7.12.1). Subordination clause insertions also occur in a range of forms, including

declarative clause, interrogative clause, imperative clause and exclamative (§7.12.2).

### 7.12.1 English subordinate clause: function

In this section, the main focus is on the distribution of English subordinate clause insertions, summarised in Table 7.6 which is repeated here.

Table 7.6 Subordinate clause insertions by function

<b>Subordinate clause: function</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Subject clause	0	0%
Complement clause	2	8%
Adverbial clause	22	88%
Relative clause	1	4%
<b>Total</b>	25	100%

As mentioned above (§7.10), the most frequent function of subordinate clause insertions is the adverbial function. Complement clause insertions and relative clause insertions occur in very small numbers, and there are no subject clause insertions. Recall that, like English, Farsi allows both finite and non-finite subject clauses (§3.14.1), so this absence is worth noting.

Beginning with adverbial clause insertions, the most common type, it is worth mentioning that the FED corpus contained examples with both overt and covert subordinating conjunctions. In the absence of an overt subordinating conjunction, it was sometimes necessary to make a decision about whether the utterance represented a case of subordination or whether it represented a case of two clauses occurring side by side (juxtaposed). This decision was based on whether there was a link between the two clauses that could be expressed by inserting a subordinating conjunction; if so, those examples were included as cases of subordination. Where there was no such link, as in example (95), the decision was made to set aside those examples as cases of clausal juxtaposition:

(95) mâ            be       Europe            chekâr   kon-im  
          pro.1SG   about   Europe            what       do-1PL

shall I go and print the tickets

shall I go and print the tickets

‘What shall we do about Europe then? Shall I go and print the tickets?’

The following examples illustrate the insertion of English adverbial subordinate clauses.

In example (96), the adverbial subordinate clause introduced by the Farsi subordinating conjunction *be xâtere inke* ‘because’ contains an English clausal insertion.

(96) etefaqaan       library            xubtar-e                    be    xâter-e  
          actually       library            better-COP.3SG        for   reason-EZ  
  
          in-ke            tu       xune            **I just want to sleep**  
          this-COMP       at       home            I just want to sleep

‘Actually, the library is better, because at home I just want to sleep.’

In contrast to the above example (96), in examples (97)-(99), the English subordinate adverbial of reason clause is introduced by the English subordinating conjunction *because*.

- (97) be nafʔ-esh-e māmān-esh o  
 to advantage-POSS-COP.3SG mother-POSS.3SG DDO  
 na-yâr-e **because it will be more expensive**  
 NEG-bring-3SG because it will be more expensive  
 ‘She is better not to bring her mom because it will be more expensive.’

- (98) hâlâ be-bin-am chi mishe  
 now SUBJ-see-1SG what COP.3SG  
**because it is a bit busy for me at that time**  
 because it is a bit busy for at that time  
 ‘let me see what I can do because it is a bit busy for me at that time.’

- (99) yâde bachegiâm oftâd- am **because I used to live there**  
 remember childhood fall.PST-1SG because I used to live there  
 ‘The city reminded me of my childhood because I used to live there.’

In contrast to the above examples, in examples (100) and (101), the subordinating conjunction *because* is unexpressed, but its present is implicit because the English clause expresses an adverbial of reason. In both Farsi and English, the subordinating conjunction ‘because’ can be omitted (covert).

- (100) barâ-m saxt-e ke be-ra-m **I am really tired**  
 for-1SG hard-COP COMP SUBJ-go-1SG I am really tired  
 ‘I cannot go (because) I am really tired.’

- (101) **we do not need to go on diet** alân in xeili xush maza-s  
 we do not have to go on diet now this very delicious-COP.3SG  
 ‘We do not need to go on diet now (because) this is very delicious

In the following example, the English temporal adverbial clause is introduced by the Farsi subordinating conjunction *baʔd* ‘afterwards, then’.

- (102) dust pesar-esh mi-yâ-d Brighton  
 friend boy-POSS.3SG IMPF-come-3SG Brighton  
 baʔd-esh-am **they go to London**  
 after-3SG-too they go to London  
 ‘Her boyfriend comes to Brighton then they go to London.’

The following examples illustrate the insertion of English complement clauses. In examples (103), the English clause occurs as the complement of the Farsi verb *movâfegh-am* ‘I agree’, and is introduced by the Farsi complementizer *ke*.

- (103) man vâqean movâfegh-am ke **we have to do it**  
 pro.1SG actually agree-1SG COMP we have to do it  
 ‘I actually agree (that) we have to do it.’

Recall that in both English and Farsi complementisers can be omitted (§3.14.2). In example (104) the English clause occurs as the complement of the Farsi verb *mi-g-am* ‘I am saying’. In this example, there is no complementiser.

(104) mi-g-am      vâqean      **we have to go on a diet**

IMPF-say-1SG   actually      we have to go on a diet

‘Actually, I am saying we have to go on a diet’.

Recall that the Farsi complementiser *ke* not only introduces subordinate complement clauses (§3.14.2) but also introduces relative clauses (§3.14.3). In example (105), which can be literally translated as ‘London has the difference that London’s every single night is really busy’, the English insertion is a relative clause that postmodifies the noun *farq* ‘difference’. This relative clause is introduced by the Farsi complementiser *ke*. Recall also example (53), which illustrates an English VP insertion into a subjectless relative clause; these examples illustrate together that relative clause constructions do participate in codeswitching in the FED corpus, although in very small numbers.

(105) landan      farq      dar-e      ke  
 London      difference      have-3SG      COMP

**London’s every single night is really busy**

London’s every single night is really busy

‘London is different, where every single night is really busy.’

### 7.12.2 English subordinate clause: form

As shown above (§7.10), Table 7.6, which is repeated here, breaks down the total number of subordinate clause insertions by form (clause type), showing that the most frequent form of subordinate clause insertions is the declarative clause, while



interrogative, imperative and exclamative clause insertions occur in small numbers. Table 7.7 which is repeated here.

Table 7.7 Subordinate clause insertions by form (clause type)

<b>Subordinate clause: form</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Declarative clause	19	76%
Interrogative clause	1	4%
Imperative clause	4	16%
Exclamative	1	4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100%</b>

The remainder of this subsection illustrates each of these forms

The most frequent type of subordinate clause insertion in the FED corpus, according to form, is the declarative clause. The following examples illustrate this.

(106) dige barnâme-hâ-iy dâsht-im **so we were like a bit stuck**

again plan-PL-INDF have.PST-3SG so we were like a bit stuck.

‘We had plans so we were like a bit stuck.’

(107) **you have to go to London** so unâ bâyard

you have to go to London so PRO.3PL should

hazina-t o be-d-an

fund-POSS.2SG DDO SUBJ-give-2SG

‘You have to go to london so they have to fund you (pay for your transportation.)’

- (108) cheqadr                      xoshkel-e                      **we have to start**  
                  how much                      beautiful-COP-3SG                      we have to start  
                  ‘That is delicious (so) we have to start (to eat).’

In the following example simple polar interrogative clause is formed by raising the intonation at the end of the utterance. As in Farsi, this construction shows no word order differences when compared to the corresponding declarative clause (§3.12.2).

- (109) aval                      dust    pesar-esh                      mi-â-d  
                  First                      friend    boy-POSS.3SG                      IMPF-come-3SG  
                  Brighton                      baʔd                      **they go to London?**  
                  Brighton                      then                      they go to London?  
                  ‘Is her boyfriend come to Brighton first then they go to London?’

Recall from Table 7.3 that the FED corpus contains four instances of English subordinate imperative clauses. The following example illustrate this. In example (110) the English conjunction *so* introduces the English subordinate imperative clause.

- (110) Mandana                      âxer-e                      August                      tavalod-esh-e  
                  Mandana                      end-EZ                      August                      birthday-POSS-COP.3SG  
                  **so let’s go to Shard**  
                  so let’s go to Shard  
                  ‘End of August is Mandan’s birthday so let’s go to Shard.’

**do not look at them**

do not look at them

‘You know yourself better so do not look at them.’

The next example illustrates an English fixed expression occurring as a complement clause insertion. In this case, the form of the clausal insertion is exclamative. This is the only such case in the FED corpus.

(112) goft                      **what a charlatan**

say.PST.3SG      what a charlatan

‘He said what a charlatan!’

### 7.13 Summary of findings relating to phrasal and clausal insertions

The present section offers a concise summary of the findings of the present chapter. Beginning with phrasal insertions, English **noun phrase insertions** into Farsi matrix language utterances occur quite freely. The following list offers a summary of the findings relating to noun phrase insertions.

- English noun phrase insertions may consist of a single head noun, a compound noun, or a noun premodified by an attributive adjective phrase. English noun phrase insertions may or may not contain English determiners.

- In some cases, English noun phrase insertions co-occur with the Farsi indefinite determiner.
- English noun phrase insertions can occur with the English plural morpheme *-s*, with the Farsi plural morpheme *-hâ*, and in some cases the English noun phrase is double marked for plural with both the English plural morpheme *-s* plural and the Farsi plural morpheme *-hâ*.
- English possessive noun phrase insertions may be marked for possession by the presence of the English possessive determiner or by the Farsi possessive clitic. In some cases, English noun phrase insertions are double marked for possession, containing both the English possessive determiner and the Farsi possessive clitic.
- English noun phrase insertions frequently occur within the Farsi *e-ezafe* construction, which either links a head noun to an adjectival postmodifier phrase (§3.5.6) or links a head noun to a complement noun phrase to form a type of possessive construction (§3.6.2).
- The insertion of English noun phrases into a Farsi preposition phrases occurred frequently in the FED corpus.
- The insertion of an English noun phrase into a Farsi quantifier phrase is also attested.
- English noun phrase insertions may perform the grammatical function of subject, in which case the Farsi verb inflects to agree with the subject in person and number.
- English noun phrase insertions frequently perform the grammatical function of direct object within a Farsi matrix language clause; in some cases the construction shows Farsi OV word order, and in other cases it shows English VO word order.
- In a few cases, English noun phrase insertions occur in the adverbial function.
- The occurrence of English noun phrase insertions in the grammatical function of subject predicative complement is rare in the FED corpus, with only two cases.

English **verb phrase insertions** into Farsi matrix language utterances are also relatively common in the FED corpus. The following list offers a summary of the findings relating to verb phrase insertions.

- The FED corpus contains English finite verb phrase insertions with subject, non-finite verb phrase insertions with and without subject, and non-finite verb phrase insertions into Farsi light verb constructions.
- English non-finite verb phrase insertions frequently occur as complement to a Farsi light verb construction.
- There was no evidence to suggest that switching is possible between English negation particle and Farsi verb phrase or vice versa.

English **adjective phrase** insertions into Farsi matrix language utterances are also attested in the FED corpus. The following list offers a summary of the findings relating to adjective phrase insertions.

- The most common pattern in the FED corpus is the insertion of predicative adjective phrases (including co-ordinated predicative adjective phrases). In a small number of cases the inserted predicative adjective phrase occurs without a Farsi copula, whereas in most of the examples, the adjective phrase insertions occur with the Farsi copula.
- Attributive adjective phrase insertions occurred in very small numbers.

English **preposition phrase insertions** into Farsi matrix language utterances are also attested in the FED corpus. The following list offers a summary of the findings relating to preposition phrase insertions.

- English preposition phrase insertions occur in some cases as nominal postmodifiers, word order that is characteristic of both Farsi and English.
- English preposition phrase insertions also occur as modifiers of Farsi adverbs.
- English preposition phrase insertions also function as clause-level modifiers.
- In one case, an English preposition phrase insertion occurs as topic.

English **adverb phrase** insertions into Farsi matrix language utterances are also attested in the FED corpus.

- In all such cases, the adverb phrase functions as a modifier at the clausal level or at the verb phrase level.

Turning to clausal insertions, English **co-ordinate clause insertions** occur frequently in the FED corpus:

- English co-ordinate clause insertions can be joined by either Farsi conjunctions or English conjunctions.
- English conjunctions appeared rarely; the few attested cases were limited to the English conjunctions *and* and *but*.
- The most frequent co-ordinating conjunction in the FED corpus is the Farsi expression *vali*, ‘but’.
- There were no examples of disjunctive clausal co-ordination involving codeswitching in the FED corpus.

English **subordinate clause** insertions occurred in a range of **functions** in the FED corpus:

- English subordinate clause insertions occur as adverbial, complement of verb, and relative clause.
- The adverbial function was the most frequent function of English subordinate clause insertions, and the examples contain both overt and covert subordinating conjunctions.
- English complement clause insertions occurred only twice in the FED corpus. One of these examples contains the Farsi complementiser, the other contains a covert complementiser.
- There is one case of relative clause insertion in the FED corpus. This example also contains the Farsi complementiser.
- Like English, Farsi allows both finite and non-finite subject clauses but there was no subject clause insertion in the FED, so this absence is worth noting.

English **subordinate clause insertions** also occur in the FED corpus in a range of of **forms**:

- English subordinate clause insertions include the forms declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative.
- The most frequent type of English subordinate clause insertion according to form is declarative; the imperative clause occurred four times while exclamative and interrogative clauses occurred only once. It is worth observing that the interrogative insertion is a marginal case, marked as interrogative by the rising intonation that is characteristic of polar interrogatives in Farsi, but lacking the subject-auxiliary inversion that is characteristic of polar interrogatives in English.
- It is also worth observing that there were no cases of passive clause insertions in the FED corpus.

#### **7.14 Chapter summary**

The goal of the present chapter was to offer a systematic and detailed description of English phrasal and clausal insertions into Farsi matrix language utterances, in order to complement the previous chapter in addressing the second research question of this project:

RQ2: How do the grammatical components of the typologically dissimilar languages Farsi and English interact in bilingual speech?

According to the hypotheses stated above (§7.2), where the two languages share similar structures, code switching is expected to occur freely. As hypothesised, the findings of the present chapter provide evidence that the following structures allow codeswitching with phrasal and clausal insertions.

- Clause-initial subject
- Clause-initial topic
- Adverbials in initial/medial/final position
- Clausal co-ordination
- Subject and complement clauses

- Embedded clauses with covert subject co-referential with main clause
- Postnominal relative clauses with gapping
- Clefts and pseudoclefts

In contrast, I hypothesised that where the two languages differ in structure, there may be constraints on codeswitching. Given the support provided in the previous chapter for Farsi as the matrix language in the FED corpus, it was hypothesised that the following Farsi-governed structures would be attested in the corpus:

- possibility of English subject with the agreement on Farsi verb
- Farsi OV (vs. English VO)
- Farsi N AP vs. English AP N
- Non-verbal predicative followed by Farsi copular
- English negation particle with Farsi verb
- Farsi bound possessive pronoun (vs. English free pronouns) bound to English NP
- Farsi light verb construction containing and English phrasal insertion
- Farsi e-ezafé containing and English phrasal insertion

Based on the chapter findings, overall, the hypotheses were supported by the data in the following ways, but there were some counterexamples, this is what they are

- Farsi determines the word order by providing the grammatical constructions characteristic of Farsi (LVC, e-ezafé) nevertheless, there are some counter examples such as, finding some cases of the VO structure rather than OV structure. Moreover, the FED corpus shows cases of English AP N rather than following the Farsi N AP.
- Farsi providing grammatical morphemes however, there are some counter examples. Such as, there are cases that the English Phrase insertions are double marked with Farsi and English markers. As well as, sometimes the English plural (-s) marks for plural rather with Farsi plural marker (-*hâ*). Despite this, there are cases that the English NP, which occurs inside the Farsi possessive construction, is double marked for plural with English (-s plural) and the Farsi plural marker (-*hâ*). There are other morphemes that attach to



phrases such as direct object marker that it goes at the end of the whole phrase or the copular or the e-ezafe.

In the next chapter, the results of the data analysis are discussed in relation to the third and final research question, in order to determine which model of codeswitching adequately accounts for these findings.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Discussion of findings in relation to models of codeswitching**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the findings described in the previous two chapters will be analysed in relation to the third research question, in order to establish how well the theoretical models outlined in Chapter 4 explain the patterns found in the Farsi/English codeswitching data from the FED corpus.

In section 8.2, I briefly restate the third research question addressed in this study and the related hypotheses relating to codeswitching models. Section 8.3 offers a detailed discussion of the findings in relation to each of the models of codeswitching outlined in Chapter 4. Section 8.4 provides a summary of that discussion in relation to the third research question. Finally, section 8.5 offers a summary of the chapter.

#### **8.2 Restatement of hypotheses relating to research question 3**

The third research question addressed in this study is restated below, together with its associated hypothesis:

RQ3: Overall, which model of the structural aspects of codeswitching reviewed in chapter 4 most accurately predicts the patterns found in the Farsi-English data?

Recall from Chapter 5 (§5.2) that I hypothesised that the Matrix Language Framework model (Myers-Scotton 1993) would most accurately predict the patterns found in the Farsi-English data.

This hypothesis was motivated by the following considerations. Firstly, the Matrix Language Framework model is different from other models of codeswitching in terms of its reliance not only on empirical findings but also on neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic findings in terms of language production and processing phenomena (Myers-Scotton 1993), as discussed at some length in (§4.5.6).

Secondly, the Matrix Language Framework model accurately predicts the occurrence of syntactic constructions in codeswitching data that other models predict should not occur (Callahan 2002, 2004), as discussed in (§4.5.6). Thirdly, the Matrix Language Framework model goes beyond syntax and incorporates pragmatic motivations for code switching constructions (Callahan 2004). Finally, a considerable body of research has been conducted to test the model on language pairs including Korean- English, Welsh-English, Spanish-English, Arabic-English, Arabic-French, Turkish-English, German-English, English-African and Turkish-Dutch, and this extensive research has produced results that in general offer strong support for the Matrix Language Framework model (§4.5.6).

### **8.3 Discussion of findings in relation to models of codeswitching**

Before addressing the findings of the current study in relation to the codeswitching models discussed in Chapter 4, it is useful to recall Table 4.1, repeated here as Table 8.1, which summarises the key similarities and differences between the models reviewed in Chapter 4, as well as their empirical predictions.

Table 8.1 Comparison of structural approaches to codeswitching

<b>Model</b>	<b>Emphasis on content/function distinction?</b>	<b>Restriction on bound morphemes?</b>	<b>Generative?</b>	<b>Asymmetry between languages?</b>	<b>Predictions</b>	<b>Counterexamples?</b>
<b>Linear Order Approach (Poplack 1980)</b>	No	Yes	no	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching where word order differs</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Subcategorisation Principle (Bentahila and Davies 1983)</b>	No	Yes	no	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching where word order differs</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Phase-Structure Congruence Constraint (Woolford, 1983)</b>	No	Yes	Yes	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching where word order differs</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Government Constraint (DiSciullo et al. 1986)</b>	No	no	Yes	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switch under government</li> <li>○ No statement on bound</li> </ul>	Yes

					morphemes	
<b>Functional Head Constraint (Belazi et al. 1994)</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ No switching for complements of functional heads</li> <li>○ No switching with bound morphemes</li> <li>○ Switching with complements of lexical heads</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Null Theory of Codeswitching (Mahootian 1993)</b>	No	No	No	No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Word order determined by heads</li> <li>○ Switching is possible for complements of lexical and functional heads</li> <li>○ Switching is possible with bound morphemes</li> </ul>	Yes
<b>Matrix Frame Model</b>	Yes	yes	No	Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Word order determined by ML</li> </ul>	Yes, esp. from balanced bilinguals

(Myers- Scotton 1993)					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ All functional heads/morphemes from ML</li> <li>○ No switching with for complements of functional heads (?)</li> <li>○ Switching is possible with bound morphemes (?)</li> </ul>	
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As I stated above (§4.8), the comparison illustrates that the two models that offer the most robust account of a range of cross-linguistic data are the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993, Joshi 1985) and the Null Theory of Codeswitching (Mahootian 1993). Although these theories are now 25 years old, they have not yet been replaced by more explanatory models, and research continues to be conducted within these frameworks. I hypothesised above that the model most obviously suited to the current research project is the Matrix Language Framework model, because it allows for asymmetry between the two languages, and the participants in this study are late and unbalanced bilinguals. However, the predictions of the Null Theory of Codeswitching are also discussed in this chapter, to reveal whether the assumption of asymmetry is essential to a model of codeswitching.

In the following subsections, the empirical predictions of each of the models of codeswitching reviewed in Chapter 4 are assessed against the findings of the current study.

### 8.3.1 Linear Order model

As discussed in Chapter 4, Poplack (1980) examined bilingual codeswitching in Spanish-English speakers. She found that when the word order between Spanish and English was different, codeswitching did not occur. Pfaff (1980, 1981) found evidence in support of this theory, finding codeswitching more likely to occur when two languages possess similar surface structures. These two studies thus assert that similarity or difference between two language structures aid or inhibit codeswitching, respectively. Poplack's '**Free Morpheme Constraint**' emerged from this research, which is stated as follows:

'Codeswitching may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme' (Poplack 1980: 585).

In the present study, many counterexamples are found that obviously refute the free morpheme constraint. These are examples where Farsi bound morphemes attach to English nouns or adjectives that are not integrated into the language as loanwords. A range of examples follow.

In example (1), the Farsi indefinite marker is attached to an English noun.

- |     |                                  |        |                |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------|----------------|
| (1) | <b>background-i</b>              | bâyad  | be-nevis-i     |
|     | background-INDF                  | should | SUBJ-write-2SG |
|     | 'You should write a background.' |        |                |

In example (2), the Farsi bound copula is attached to an English adjectival predicate.

- (2)  $\text{yazâ-hâ-sh}$                        $\text{xeily}$     **delicious-an**  
 food-PL-POSS.3SG                      very            delicious-COP.3PL  
 ‘The foods here are very delicious.’

In example (3), the Farsi bound comparative marker is attached to an English adjective. In this example, the English adjective carries both the bound comparative marker and the bound copula.

- (3)  $\text{havâ}$                       **nice-tar-e**  
 weather                      nice-COMPR-COP.3SG  
 ‘The weather is nicer.’

In example (4), an English noun carries both the Farsi plural marker and the Farsi e-ezafe morpheme.

- (4)  $\text{mi-tun-i}$                        $\text{az}$      $\text{hama-ye}$     **sources-hâ-ye**     $\text{un}$      $\text{estefade}$      $\text{kon-i}$   
 IMPF-can-2SG                      from    all-EZ    sources-PL-EZ    PRO.3SG    benefit    do-2SG  
 ‘You can get benefit from all the sources.’ ‘you can use all his sources.’

Example (5) illustrates a Farsi possessive clitic pronoun attached to an English noun.

- (5)  $\text{bexâter-e}$                       **overlap-esh**                       $\text{be}$      $\text{yânun-e}$      $\text{Irani}$   
 because-EZ                      overlap-PRO.3SG                      to    law-EZ    Iranian  
 ‘Because of its overlap with (to) the Iranian Law.’



Despite the above counterexamples to the free morpheme constraint, the FED do offer some support for the Free morpheme constraint in that English words are sometimes inserted into Farsi matrix language structure retaining their own bound morphemes, as shown in the following examples. In the FED corpus, this finding is limited to the plural suffix *-s*:

- (6)    hodud-e                    **four hours**       dars       xund-am  
          about-EZ                four hours       study    read.PST-1SG  
          ‘I studied for about four hours.’

- (7)    mi-xa-m                    **shoes, clothes**               be-xar-am  
          IMPF-want-1SG           shoes, clothes               SUBJ-buy-1SG  
          ‘I want to buy clothes, shoes.’

In addition, the FED corpus also contains examples where English expressions carry bound morphemes from both Farsi and English simultaneously. In example (8), the English noun is marked with two plural suffixes, one English *-s* and the other Farsi *-hâ* (in addition to the Farsi possessive clitic pronoun).

- (8)    mi-xâ-m                    **friends-hâ-m**               o           be-bin-am  
          IMPF-want-1SG           friends-PL-POSS.1SG    DDO    SUBJ-see-1SG  
          ‘I want to see my friends.’

Similarly, in example (9), the English noun carries both the English plural suffix *-s* and the Farsi bound copula *-e*.

- (9)    **two years-e**                      ba        ham                      hastand  
          two years-COP.3SG        with    each other        COP.3PL  
          ‘They have been together for two years’

The free morpheme constraint predicts that switching between verb and verbal inflection should not be attested. This prediction holds true for the FED: there is no case where an English verbal inflection occurs with a Farsi verb or vice versa. The free morpheme constraint thus receives only limited support from the FED.

As discussed in Chapter 4, a further statement to emerge from Poplack’s research was the ‘**Equivalence Constraint**’ (Poplack 1980): ‘Code-switches occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language.’ (Poplack 1980: 586). While the free morpheme constraint relates to morphological structure, the Equivalence Constraint relates to syntactic structure, and predicts that codeswitching may occur only when the word order is the same in both languages.

My FED also provides a range of counterexamples to the predictions of the Equivalence Constraint. Although Farsi and English have dissimilar word order, for example in the order of verb and object as well as noun and its adjectival modifier, switching is permissible between verb and object and between noun and modifier.

Examples (10), (11) illustrate a case where the order of verb and object conforms to Farsi syntactic structure (OV), but not to English syntactic structure (VO). In the examples below, the English complements precede the Farsi verbs. In example (10), the verbal complement is a direct object, while in example (11) it is a prepositional complement.

(10) inâ in **business** ro zad-and

PRO.3PL INDF business DDO hit-3SG

‘They set up this business.’

(11) be **sister-am** zang zad-am

to sister-POSS.1SG ring hit.PST-1SG

‘I called my sister.’

Similarly, in example (12), the English complement *teacher* precedes the Farsi verb *harf bezan* ‘talk’.

(12) bâ **teacher-et** harf be-zan

to teacher-POSS.2SG take SUBJ-hit

‘Talk to your teacher.’

Examples (13) and (14) illustrate cases of nominal modification where the word order reflects Farsi syntactic structure (NAdj) rather than English syntactic structure (AdjN).

(13) xeili nevisande-ye **popular-i-ye**

very writer-EZ popular-INDF-COP.1SG

‘He is a very popular writer.’

- (14) mi-xâ-d                      **gym-e**                      zanune                      be-zan-e  
          IMPF-want-3SG                      gym-EZ                      womanly                      SUBJ-hit-3SG  
          ‘He wants to open a women’s gym.’

The FED corpus does offer limited support for Poplack’s model, however. The following example (15) shows that codeswitching is allowed between Farsi preposition and English noun. In this case, the two languages share the same syntactic structure, and thus the Equivalence Constraint applies.

In example (15), the English noun occurs with a Farsi complex preposition, and also carries the Farsi copula. This example shows that (*e-ezafe*) links the head preposition to its complement.

- (15) dar bârey-e                      **feminism-e**  
          in-about-EZ                      feminism-COP.3SG  
          ‘It is about feminism.’

Similarly, the instance (16) illustrates that switching between head preposition in Farsi and English noun is permissible.

- (16) az                      **introduction**                      shoru?                      na-kon  
          from                      introduction                      start                      NEG-do-2SG  
          ‘Do not start from introduction.’

The preposition (*az*) ‘from’ is belong to the group of bare prepositions, using (*ezafe*) with this group of prepositions is ungrammatical; therefore, there is no (*ezafe*) between the preposition and its compliment to compare to example (15)

Also, the instance (17) explains that the English noun occurs with a Farsi complex preposition, and also carries the Farsi *e-ezafe* morpheme.

- (17) dar morede      **progress-e**      bache-hâ-shon      so?âl      mi-kard-and  
          in about          progress-EZ      kid-PL-PRO.POSS.3PL      question      IMPF-do-3PL  
          ‘They were talking about their children’s progress.’

Further support for Poplack’s model (1980) comes from cases where English preposition phrases occur in full within Farsi sentences, as illustrated by the following examples.

In example (18), the English preposition phrase is inserted into Farsi structure in topic position. In this case, the two languages also share the same syntactic structure, and thus the Equivalence Constraint applies.

- (18) **for me,**      tozih              dad-am              dar mord-e      *writer*  
          for me,      explain              give.PST-1SG      inabout-EZ      writer  
          ‘For me, I explained about the writer.’

Similarly, in example (19), the English preposition phrase *from China* postmodifies the Farsi noun *doxtar* ‘girl’, a word order that is also characteristic both languages.

- (19) in doxtar-e from China  
 DET girl-DET from China  
 ‘the girl from China’

In terms of the cognitive system underlying codeswitching, Poplack (1980:615) claims that bilingual codeswitching emerges from a third grammar that incorporates the lexical and grammatical categories of both languages, a view criticised by Mahootian (1993), who argues that if the third grammar is a combination of the two monolingual grammars feeding into codeswitching, then a trilingual person would have seven grammars: three grammars for each monolingual language, another three grammars reflecting the combinations L1+L2, L1+L3 and L2+L3, and a seventh grammar consisting of the combination of all three grammars. The number of grammars would increase further with additional languages, resulting in a highly unconstrained model in terms of its predictions for codeswitching. Mahootian’s argument is supported by FED in that to codeswitch the bilinguals do not need a third grammar to incorporate the lexical and grammatical categories of both languages.

### 8.3.2 Subcategorization Principle model

As discussed in Chapter 4, Bentahila and Davies (1983) responded to the challenges encountered by Poplack’s Linear Order Approach, formulating a model of codeswitching constraints that does not rest upon word order differences. Instead, they based their principle on the subcategorisation rules in the two languages, stating that:

‘all items must be used in such a way to satisfy the (language particular) subcategorisation restrictions imposed on them’ (Bentahila & Davies 1983:329).

For example, Bentahila and Davies show that codeswitching is permissible when a French prenominal adjective precedes an Arabic noun, but an Arabic adjective

subcategorised as postnominal cannot precede a French noun because this structure violates the subcategorisation rule for that Arabic adjective.

However, the FED corpus also contains counterexamples to the predictions of the Subcategorization Principle. Consider example (20) as an illustration. The example contains two English codeswitches, linked by the Farsi e-ezafe. According to the subcategorisation rule for the English adjective *international*, it should precede the noun it modifies, but here it follows the noun *student*:

- |      |                               |                       |               |
|------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (20) | tamâme                        | <b>student</b> -hâ-ye | international |
|      | all                           | student-PL-EZ         | international |
|      | ‘All international students.’ |                       |               |

Similarly, the nominal modifier *microdermabrasion* is subcategorised to precede the noun it modifies in English, but in the following example it follows the noun:

- (21) man            **facial-e**            **microdermabrasion**    dê-am  
PRO.1SG    facial-EZ            microdermabrasion    have-1SG  
‘I have (a) microdermabrasion facial.’

This model also receives some support from clause-level codeswitches, where each clause observes independent subcategorisation rules. This is shown by examples (22) and (23)

(22) **so we have to hang around for an hour**

so we have to hang around for an hour

baʔd-esh	taksi	mi-shin-im	mi-r-im
then-PRO.3PL	taxi	IMPF-sit-1PL	IMPF-go-1PL

‘So, we have to hang around for an hour then take a taxi and go.’

## (23) xub na-mi-tun-am ke bâ unâ be-ra-m birun

well NEG-IMPF-can-1SG COMP with PRO.1PL SUBJ-go-1SG out

**so apparently the night time is getting messy**

so apparently the night time is getting messy

‘Well, I cannot go out with them so apparently the night time is getting messy.’

In sum, the above discussion shows that the FED offers only partial support for the Subcategorisation Principle; the model is adequate for predicting clausal insertion, but at the level of single word and phrasal insertions, the FED provides more counterexamples than supportive examples. In addition, the subcategorisation principle model also assumes Poplack’s free morpheme constraint, for which the FED corpus provides numerous counterexamples, as seen in the previous section.

### 8.3.3 Phrase Structure Congruence Constraint model

As discussed in Chapter 4, Woolford (1983) was the first researcher to explore the Generative framework as the basis for a model of codeswitching. The Generative model at this time was Chomsky’s (1981) Government and Binding Theory. Woolford’s (1983) work examined Spanish-English codeswitching. According to Woolford’s Phrase-Structure Congruence model, the lexicon and word formation



processes in each language involving in codeswitching remain separate, which entails that word-internal switches are predicted not to apply. With the lexicon and word formation processes separate, the two grammars co-operate, but the phrase structure rules of each language also remain distinct. This predicts that codeswitching occurs only if the two languages have similar phrase structure rules, in which case lexical items from either language can fill terminal nodes. It follows that the more similar the two languages' grammatical structures are, the higher the probability that codeswitching will occur.

While Woolford's Phrase Structure Congruence model arguably offers a better-developed theoretical explanation for constraints on codeswitching, the empirical predictions of the model do not differ in any significant way from those of the models discussed above: word-internal switches are predicted not to occur, and other codeswitches are predicted to occur only when the two languages share syntactic structures. As the discussion in the previous sections demonstrates, the FED corpus provides counterexamples to both these predictions.

#### **8.3.4 Government Constraint model**

As discussed in Chapter 4, DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986) responded to the shortcomings of the models discussed above by developing a more detailed Generative model that rests primarily on the government constraint, which is defined as follows:

‘Switching is prohibited at S-structure by the government relationship which holds between adjacent items.’ (DiSciullo et al 1986:1)

‘X governs Y if the first node dominating X also dominates Y, where X is a major category N, V, A, P and no maximal boundary intervenes between X and Y.’ (DiSciullo et al. 1986:6)

This model thus predicts that codeswitching will occur in structures where no government relation holds between the expressions but will not occur in structures where a government relation holds, such as structures in which a lexical head noun, adjective, verb or preposition governs another phrase. In descriptive terms, this

predicts that codeswitches will not occur between these heads and their complement phrases unless another element intervenes, which these authors refer to as a ‘neutralising element’ or ‘language carrier’ (DiSciullo et al. 1986). For example, if a verb takes a noun phrase as a complement, codeswitching between verb and noun phrase will not be possible, unless a determiner phrase intervenes. In this case, the determiner is the ‘neutralising element’ or ‘language carrier’, and must come from the same language as the verb. This model thus predicts that the following pairs will not allow codeswitches:

- verb and determiner
- verb and quantifier
- verb and preposition
- verb and complementiser
- noun and modifying adjective phrase
- co-ordinating conjunction and second conjoined element
- head and clitic pronoun

It is worth pointing out that while DiSciullo et al. assume the determiner phrase as a functional category, they do not assume other functional categories that emerged later in the generative framework, such as complementiser phrase and tense phrase. Thus, they predict that switching may occur between complementiser and embedded clause.

Di Sciullo et al.’s (1986) model predicts that codeswitching is blocked between verb and object noun phrase, unless a ‘neutralising element’ such as a determiner or quantifier intervenes. The FED corpus contains counterexamples to this prediction, such as the following. Examples (24) and (25) show that despite the absence of an ‘neutralising element’ in the language of the verb, codeswitching still occurs between the Farsi verb and its object.

- (24) bâ qânun-e Iran **overlap** mi-kon-e  
 with rule-EZ Iran overlap IMPF-do-3SG  
 ‘It overlaps with Iran’s rule.’

- (25) **hundred Euros** mi-sh-e  
 hundred Euros IMPF-become-3SG  
 ‘(It) becomes a hundred Euros.’

The model developed by DiSciullo et al. (1986) predicts that switching between verb and determiner is blocked. The FED corpus provides mixed results in relation to this prediction. The following examples provide support for the Government Constraint Model, since a Farsi determiner intervenes between the Farsi verb and the English object:

- (26) ye **meeting** ro bâ madrase-ye Jane dâr-am  
 DET meeting DDO with school-EZ Jane have-1SG  
 ‘I have a meeting with Jane’s school.’

- (27) in **business** o zad-and  
 DEM business DDO hit.PST-3PL  
 ‘They have built this business.’

However, the FED corpus also contains counterexamples where the determiner is not, as predicted, from the same language as the verb:

(28) **an application** nevesht-am

an application write.PST-1SG

‘I wrote an application.’

(29) **an application** o ye *business plan* mi-sh-e

an application CONJ INDF business plan IMPF-become-3SG

*thousand* pond

thousand pound

‘An application and a business plan costs £1000.’

It is also worth observing that the FED corpus also contains examples such as (30), where an English noun insertion is double marked for definiteness, with both the English definite article and the Farsi definite direct object marker *râ*; this example thus simultaneously supports and does not support the predictions of the Government Constraint Model.

(30) **the writer** o be-g-i ke che jury bud-e

the writer DDO SUBJ-tell-2SG COMP what type be.PST-3SG.

‘You should mention that how was the writer.’

Moreover, in example (31), the English noun phrase *an application* is inserted into a Farsi structure and is conjoined by means of the Farsi conjunction *o* ‘and’ to an English compound noun *business plan*, which takes a Farsi determiner. This

example also violates the Government Constraint Model because one determiner comes from English, while the verb comes from Farsi.

- (31) mi-g-e                      ke                      **an application**                      o                      ye
- IMPF-say-3SG      COMP                      an application                      CONJ      INDF
- business plan**                      mi-sh-e                      *thousand* pond
- business plan                      IMPF-become- 3SG                      thousand pounds
- ‘He says that an application and a business plan costs £1000.’

The model developed by DiSciullo et al. (1986) also predicts that switching between verb and quantifier is blocked. The FED corpus also provides mixed results in relation to this prediction.

In example (32) both the quantifier and the verb come from the same language, so this example meets the predictions of the government constraints model.

- (32) chand-tâ                      **advertisement**                      age                      be-zâr-i...
- some-CLF                      advertisement                      if                      SUBJ-put-2SG
- ‘If you put some advertisements...’

Similarly, in example (33), the English noun is preceded by the Farsi indefinite determiner *ye* and the quantifier *seriye*, ‘some’, in a sentence where the verb is also from Farsi.

- (33) ye                      seriye                      **complex-hâ-iy**                      dâr-e                      bâ                      yânun-e Iran
- DET                      some                      complex-PL-INDF      have-3SG                      with                      law-EZ Iran
- ‘There are some complexities with Iranian rules.’

In contrast, example (34) illustrates a case where the quantifier comes from English and the verb from Farsi, and thus serves as a counterexample to the Government Constraint Model.

- (34) tu            London            **some places**            raft-am  
          in            London            some places            go.PST-1SG  
          ‘I have been to some places in London’

The model developed by DiSciullo et al. (1986) also predicts that switching between verb and preposition is blocked. The FED corpus provides examples in support of this prediction, where English prepositional complements occur introduced by Farsi prepositions:

- (35) zang        zad-am        be        **company**  
          call        hit-1SG        to        company  
          ‘I called the company.’

- (36) bâ            **customer-hâ**            sohbat            mi-kon-i ?  
          with        customer-PL            talk            IMPF-do-2SG  
          ‘Do you speak with the customers ?’

The FED corpus also provides potential counterexamples to the above prediction. Examples (37) and (38) show that codeswitching is permissible between verb and preposition. It is worth observing, however, that these examples are limited to adjunct preposition phrases, which do not fall within the government domain of the verb.

- (37) man      **through**      telegram      aks-hâ      ro      ferestad-am  
 PRO.1SG through      telegram      photo-PL      DDO      send.PST-1SG  
 ‘I sent the photos by telegram.’

- (38) jâ      **for**      māmân-et      nist  
 place      for      mom-2SG      NEG.COP  
 ‘There is no place for your mom.’ ‘There is no enough room for your mom.’

According to the Government Constraint Model, nouns also govern their adjectival modifiers, hence, the noun and its modifying adjective should be in the same language. Once more, the FED corpus provides mixed results in relation to this prediction.

Beginning with examples that support the Government Constraint Model, in example (39) the noun *student* and its adjectival modifier *international* both come from the English:

- (39) tamâme      **student-hâ-ye**      **international**  
 all      student-PL-EZ      international  
 ‘All international students.’

Similarly, in example (40) the English noun *beach* is premodified by the English attributive adjective phrase *private*.

- (40) age      âdam      mi-xâ-d      be-r-e      lab-e  
          if      human      IMPF-want-3SG      SUBJ-go-3SG      edge-EZ  
          daryâ      hâl      kon-e,      bâyard      be-re      **private beach**  
          sea      enjoy      do-3SG      should      SUBJ-go-3SG      private beach

‘If someone wants to enjoy the sea, (he) should go to a private beach.’

Turning to counterexamples, example (41) shows a complex noun phrase headed by *experience*, which contains a preposition phrase modifier. Inside the preposition phrase, the English noun *student* is modified by the Farsi adjective *moxalefi* ‘different’.

- (41) *experience*-hâ-i      dar modre      **student-hâ-ye**  
          experience-PL-INDF      in about      students-PL-EZ  
          moxtalefi      ke      dâsht-im  
          different      COMP      have.PST-1PL

‘experiences about different students that we had.’

Similarly, in example (42), the English noun *gym* is modified by the Farsi adjective *zanune* ‘womanly’.

- (42) mi-xâ-d      **gym-e**      zanune      be-zan-e  
          IMPF-want-3SG      gym-EZ      womanly      SUBJ-hit-3SG

‘He wants to open a gym for women (women’s gym).’



The government constraint also blocks switching between a verb and complementiser but allows the possibility that codeswitches can occur between the complementiser and the embedded clause. Example (43) from the FED corpus supports both these predictions: the verb *movâfegh-am* ‘I agree’ and the complementiser *ke* both come from Farsi. The English clause introduced by the Farsi complementizer occurs as the complement of the Farsi verb.

- (43)   man                   vâqean           movâfegh-am   ke       **we have to do it**  
           pro.1SG               actually           agree-1SG     COMP   we have to do it  
           ‘I actually agree (that) we have to do it.’

The FED corpus also offers counterexamples to the prediction that switching cannot occur between verb and complementiser:

- (44)   dust-etun                   goft               **that women are talkative**  
           friend-POSS.2SG       say.PST.3SG     that women are talkative  
           ‘your friend said that women are talkative.’

The Government Constraint Model does not make any clear statement about covert complementisers. Complementisers are optional in both Farsi and English, and it is therefore impossible to say which language the covert complementiser comes from. Examples (45) and (46) illustrate such cases.

- (45)   mi-g-am               vâqean           **we have to go on a diet**  
           IMPF-say-1SG     actually           we have to go on a diet  
           ‘Actually, I am saying (that) we have to go on a diet’.

- (46) unjâ bedard-e kas-i na-mi-xor-e  
 there fit-EZ nobody-INDF NEG-IMPF-eat-3SG

**you cannot go anywhere**

you cannot go anywhere

‘It is not good for anyone (that) you cannot go anywhere.’

Muysken, et al (1986:5) claim that co-ordinating conjunctions should come from the same language as the element it introduces into the co-ordinated structure (the second conjunct). The FED corpus also provides mixed results in relation to this prediction. Example (47) is a counterexample, because a Farsi conjunction introduces an English conjoined clause.

- (47) pas barâye las fegas-ham bâyard visa be-gir-i  
 then to Las Vegas- too have visa SUBJ-get- 2SG

vali **I need to get to Miami**

but I need to get to Miami

‘I also need a visa to get to Las Vegas, but I need to get to Miami.’

Similarly, in example (48), an English conjunction introduces a Farsi conjoined clause.

- (48) yaʔni    Ramadan    na-mi-ri-m    **but**  
          means    Ramadan    NEG-IMPF-go-1PL    CONJ  
          man                fekr    mi-kon-am                ke                be-ri-m  
          1SG.PRO                think    IMPF-do-1SG                COMP                SUBJ-go-1PL

‘it means we do not go in Ramadan, but I think we should go.’

In contrast, example (49) supports the prediction, since a Farsi conjunction introduces a Farsi conjoined clause:

- (49) **he brings his equipments**    va    man                anjâm    mi-d-am  
          he brings his equipments    CONJ    1SG.PRO                do    IMPF-give-1SG

‘He brings his equipment and I do the training.’

Similarly, in example (50), an English conjunction introduces an English conjoined clause.

- (50) tu                        chaspid-e    bud-i                be    chahâr    divar-i  
          PRO.2SG                stick-PSTP    COP-PST-2SG    to    four    wall-INDF a

**and I am studying a mortgage course**

and I am studying mortgage course.

‘You are totally free and I am studying a mortgage course.’

Finally, the Government Constraint Model also predicts that codeswitching is blocked between head and clitic pronoun. As discussed above (§8.3.1), the FED corpus provides numerous counterexamples to this prediction. Examples (51) and (52) illustrate English noun insertions with Farsi possessive clitic pronouns, and examples (53) and (54) illustrate English verb insertions with Farsi object clitic pronouns.

- (51) **sister**-am      xeily   del-esh      barâ-m   tang      shod-e  
 sister-POSS.1SG   very   hear-POSS.3SG   for-1SG   narrow   become-COP.1SG  
 ‘My sister misses me so much.’

- (52) mi-tun-i      **scarf-et**      sar-et      be-kon-i  
 IMPF-can-2SG   scarf-POSS.2SG   head-POSS.2SG   SUBJ-put-2SG  
 ‘You can wear your scarf.’

- (53) **interview-et**      mi-kon-an  
 interview-PRO.2SG   IMPF-do-3SG  
 ‘They will be interviewing you.’

- (54) **help-esh**      mi-kon-am  
 help-PRO.3SG   IMPF-do-1SG  
 ‘I will help her.’

In sum, the FED offers partial support for the government constraints model, as well as numerous counterexamples, showing that the model cannot fully account for the findings of the present study.

### 8.3.5 Functional Head Constraint model

As discussed in Chapter 4, Belazi, Rubin & Toribio (1994) responded to the criticisms of the models discussed above, particularly the Government Constraint Model, by proposing a model that rests primarily on the Functional Head Constraint:

“The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head” (1994: 228).

Accordingly, switching is predicted to be blocked between functional heads such as complementizer, inflection, negation and determiner and their complements. Similarly, switching is restricted between an inflectional morpheme and a word-stem, since the inflectional morpheme is viewed as a functional head.

However, codeswitching between a lexical head and its complement is unrestricted and switching lexical head and modifier (e.g. noun and attributive adjective phrase) is possible when the resulting structure obeys the rules of both grammars.

As the discussion in the preceding sections shows, the FED corpus has already been shown to offer counterexamples to a number of the predictions of this model, where those predictions are shared by the models discussed above. Relevant examples are repeated here.

Belazi et al.’s (1994) model predicts that switching between inflectional affixes and word stems should not be attested. As explained above (8.3.1), where the free morpheme constraint was discussed, a number of counterexamples are provided by the FED corpus. The clearest type of counterexample emerging from the FED corpus in relation to the Functional Head Constraint relates to codeswitches between noun and plural morphology, as shown in the following examples. (The FED corpus contains no codeswitches between verbs and verbal inflections.)

- (55) **food**-hâ-ye      Irani      dâr-im  
 food-PL-EZ      Irani      have-1PL  
 ‘We have Iranian foods.’

- (56) bishtar    **weekend**-hâ      *busy*    hast-im  
 more    weekend-PL      busy    is-3PL  
 ‘We are more busy on the weekends.’

As discussed above, the FED corpus also contains numerous examples of codeswitches containing bound morphemes that are not inflections but clitics. These fall into three main categories: e-ezafe (§3.11), the possessive clitic pronoun (§3.6.2), and the copular clitic (§3.6.2). The following examples (57) and (58) illustrate codeswitches containing e-ezafe:

- (57) dust dâr-i      **business**-e    xod-et      o      dâshte-bash-i?  
 like have-2SG    business-EZ    your-POSS.2SG    DDO    have- PRES-2SG?  
 ‘Would you like to have your own business?’

- (58) **responsibility**-ye      **guardian**      in-e      ke      modâm  
 responsibility-EZ      guardian      this-COP      COMP    constantly  
 be      in      bache      takid      kon-e  
 to      DET      kid      assure      do-COP.3SG  
 ‘It is the guardian’s responsibility to look after the kid always.’

The following examples (59) and (60) illustrate codeswitches containing possessive clitic pronouns:

- (59) **manager-am**                      mard                      râ                      birun      kard  
          manager-2SG                      man                      DDO      out      do.PST 3SG  
          ‘My manager sent out the man.’

- (60) bâyard      bâ                      **teacher-et**                      sohbat                      kon-id  
          should      to                      teacher-2SG                      talk                      do-2SG  
          ‘You should talk to your teacher.’

The following example (61) illustrate codeswitches containing copular clitics:

- (61) unjâ                      be dard                      na-mi-xor-e                      pore                      **pervert-e**  
          there                      convinient                      NEG-IMPF-eat-3SG                      full                      pervert-COP.3SG  
          ‘It is not a convenient place because it is full of perverts.’

Whether or not the above examples provide support or counterevidence to the Functional Head Constraint model depends on the status of these clitics within the model, in other words whether they are considered functional heads or not. In the case of the copular clitic, the Farsi copula is a fully inflecting verb form, and may thus arguably be considered a lexical head, in which case examples like (61) is predicted by the model. A more challenging case is the possessive clitic pronoun, a good candidate for functional head status, in which case example like (59) and (60)

could be considered counterexamples to the Functional Head Constraint. An even stronger candidate for functional head status is e-ezafe, in which case examples like (57) and (58) also offer counterevidence to the Functional Head Constraint model.

Moving beyond codeswitches containing bound morphemes in the FED corpus, the Functional Head Constraint model predicts that switching between quantifiers and noun phrases should be blocked. As seen above (§8.3.4), the FED offers counterexamples to this prediction. The following examples (62) and (63) further illustrate this:

- (62) **chand-tâ**                      **article**                      hast  
       how many-CLF                      article                      COP.3SG  
       ‘There are some articles.’

- (63) **ye**                      **seriye**                      **complex-hâ-iy**                      hast  
       INDF                      some                      complex-PL-INDF                      COP.3SG  
       ‘There are some complexities.’

According to the Functional Head Constraint model, switching between complementiser and inflection phrase (subordinate clause) is prohibited. Belazi et al. (1994) predict that the complementizer should be in the language of the complement clause rather than in the language of the governing head. As shown above (§8.3.4), this prediction does not hold true for the FED. The following examples further illustrate this, containing Farsi complementisers that introduce English embedded clauses:



- (64) Landan      farq              dar-e              ke  
 London    different      have-3SG      COMP

**London's every single night is really busy**

London's every single night is really busy

'London is different (in) that every single night is busy.'

- (65) faqat      un      chiz-hâ-i      ehsâs              kard-am      ke  
 only      that      thing-PL-INDF      feel              do-PST.1SG      COMP

**I don't know, make sense, whatever**

I don't know, make sense, whatever

'Only those things that I don't know make sense, whatever.'

- (66) man                      vâqean              movâfegh-am              ke  
 pro.1SG              actually              agree-1SG              COMP

**we have to do it**

we have to do it

'I actually agree (that) we have to do it.'

The Functional Head Constraint model also rules out switching between determiner and its complement noun phrase. As discussed above (§8.3.5), the FED corpus also offers counterexamples to this prediction. The following examples (67) and (68) further illustrate this, containing Farsi determiners and English noun (phrases).

- (67) in        **holiday-hâ**                kêr    dast-emun                gozâsh-e  
                  DET       holiday-PL                work   hand-PRO.3SG                put-PSTP.3SG

‘These holidays have spoiled us.’ (These holidays took our life routines away.)

- (68) in        **weekends**        sar-am                        xeily    sholuy-e  
                  DET       weekend        head-POSS.1SG                very    busy-COP.1SG

‘This weekend I am very busy.’

The following counterexample (69) is particularly interesting, since the insertion falls between a single word insertion (the head noun is premodified) and a phrasal insertion (the determiner is Farsi).

- (69) in        **sick people**                bâ    *family*                mi-r-an        landan  
                  DET       sick people                with    family                IMPF-go-3PL    London

‘These sick people go to London with their families.’

Despite these counterexamples, the FED corpus does contain a few instances of English noun phrase insertions that take the form English noun plus English determiner. This structure is predicted by the Functional Head Constraint. The following example (70) illustrates this.

- (70) *disagree*                bâsh-i                bâ    **the person**  
                  disagree                COP-2SG                with    the person

‘You have to disagree with the person.’

While insertions of this type are few in number, their structures differ in interesting ways. In example (71), the English phrasal insertion *his lifestyle* is followed by the Farsi possessive clitic *-esh*, which attaches to Farsi phrases. This English phrasal insertion is therefore double marked for possession, containing the English possessive determiner *his* in addition to the Farsi possessive clitic.

(71)	<b>his</b>	<b>lifestyle-esh</b>	avaz	shod
	his	lifestyle-POSS.3SG	change	become.PST.3SG
	'his lifestyle changed.'			

Example (24) illustrates a similar case:

(72)	<b>hata</b>	<b>my niece-am</b>
	even	my niece-POSS.1SG
	'even my nice too'	

As mentioned above, with respect to codeswitching between a lexical head and its modifier, Belazi et al. (1994) extended the Functional Head Constraint model to contain the 'word-grammar integrity corollary', which accounts for the replacement of modifying adjective phrases in codeswitching. According to this, codeswitching between noun and adjective is permissible only if the grammars of the languages involved match one another.

As discussed above (§8.3.5), the FED do not support this model. As the following examples show, English attributive adjective phrases occur postmodifying Farsi nouns (73) to (76), and English nouns occur postmodified by Farsi attributive adjective phrases. In both cases, the structure observes the rules of Farsi grammar (NAdj) but violates the rules of English grammar (AdjN).

- (73) havâ                      **nice**-tar-e  
 weather                      nice-COMPR-COP.3SG  
 ‘The weather is better.’

- (74) xeily      doxtar-e      **nice**-i-ye  
 very      girl-EZ      nice-INDF-COP.3SG  
 ‘She is a very nice girl.’

- (75) dust      dêr-am      ye      chiz-e      **warm**      be-xor-am  
 like      have-1SG      INDF      thing-EZ      warm      SUBJ-eat-1SG  
 ‘I like to eat something warm.’

- (76) experience-hâ-i                      dar modre      **student-hâ-ye**  
 experience-PL-INDF                      about                      students-PL-EZ  
 moxtalefi                      ke                      dâsht-im  
 different                      COMP                      have.PST.1PL  
 ‘Experiences about different students that we had.’

Belazi et al.’s (1994) model also predicts that switching between inflection and verb is prohibited. As mentioned above, the prediction is supported by the FED corpus, which contains no cases of Farsi inflections occurring with English verbs or vice versa. Neither are there any examples of Farsi negation occurring with English verbs or vice versa.

Recall from Chapter 3 that the Farsi verb has certain typological properties that render codeswitches between verb and verbal inflection unlikely for independent reasons. Farsi lacks a simple verb root as a word stem, unlike English (§3.4 & §3.9). Instead, each Farsi verb has infinitival form, a present root and a past root. In Farsi, then, tense is an inseparable part of the verb root, and thus the language does not make available tense morphemes that might attach to an English verb insertion. What does not follow from Farsi typology, however, is the absence of codeswitches involving English verbs and Farsi subject agreement suffixes in the FED corpus.

Similarly, the Functional Head Constraint model considers modal auxiliaries as functional heads, and thus predicts that codeswitches between modal auxiliary and lexical verb (phrase) should not be attested. Recall that both Farsi and English have auxiliary verbs that are free morphemes (§3.9.14), which entails that such codeswitches could in principle occur. However, the FED also supports the Functional Head Constraint model in this respect, as the corpus does not contain any examples of codeswitching where the auxiliary and the lexical verb do not come from the same language.

In sum, while the Functional Head Constraint model receives some support from the FED, particularly in relation to codeswitches that relate to the verb and the verb phrase, the model fails to account for numerous other structures that occur in the FED corpus.

### **8.3.6 Null theory**

Recall from Chapter 4 that Mahootian (1993), like the present study, relies on data from Farsi-English codeswitching. Based on her findings, Mahootian (1993: 185) postulated a null theory of codeswitching, stating that:

‘Codeswitching is not defined by any special constraints or mechanisms that lie outside of the rules of the two grammars involved in codeswitching’.

According to this model, as in monolingual language processing, heads determine the syntactic properties of their complements, and switching can occur at any level of grammatical structure (morpheme, word, phrase or clause).

Mahootian relies on her English/Farsi data to provide evidence for this model, showing that switching between a Farsi head and its English complement is expected to occur when the word order is consistent with that required by the Farsi head, but not otherwise. For example, (77) is attested, according to null theory, because it follows the Farsi word order. In contrast, (78) is predicted not to be attested, because the position of the complement is not consistent with the requirements of the Farsi head.

(77) the apples      xord      Mahootian (1996:470)  
       the apples      eat.PST.3SG  
       ‘She ate the apples’

(78) \*xord      the apples      Mahootian (1996:470)  
       eat.PST.3SG      the apples

Similarly, (79) is predicted by the model, because the word order is consistent with the requirements of the English head, while (80) is not.

(79) ate      sib-hâ      râ      Mahootian (1996:470)  
       ate      apple-PL      DDO

(80) \*sib-hâ      râ      ate      Mahootian (1996:470)  
       Apple-PL      DDO      ate

The FED corpus provides mixed results for Mahootian's null theory. Beginning with the verb phrase, in terms of counterexamples, there are numerous examples showing the insertion of an English object in the postverbal position, which violates the requirements of the Farsi verb:

(81) raft-i                      **library**

go.PST-2SG              library

'Did you go to the library?' (you went to the library)

(82) Age              âdam              mi-xâ-d                      be-r-e                      lab-e                      daryâ

if              human              IMPF-want-3SG              SUBJ-go-3SG              edge-EZ                      sea

hâl              kon-e,                      bâyad                      be-re                      **private beach**

enjoy              do-3SG                      should                      SUBJ-go-3SG              private beach

'If someone wants to enjoy the sea, he should go to a private beach.'

(83) un                              doxtari                      ro              ke              be-hesh                      goft-im

DEM                              girl                              DDO              COMP              to-PRO.3SG              say.PST-1PL

**happy birthday**

happy birthday

'the girl to whom we said happy birthday'

However, the FED corpus also contains examples with word order that offers support to Mahootian's model:

- (84) **Library**            raft-am  
          Library            go.PST-1SG  
          ‘I went to the library.’

Similarly, the insertion of English complements into Farsi light verb constructions, a recurring pattern in the FED corpus, also offers support to Mahootian’s model, in that the word order conforms to the requirements of the Farsi head, the light verb.

- (85) beilt      ro            **share**            kon-im  
          ticket    DDO            share            do-1PL  
          ‘We will share the ticket’

- (86) xodet            ro            **support**            kon-i  
          PRO.2SG            DDO    support            do-1PL  
          ‘You will support yourself.’ ‘you support yourself’

Similarly, the insertion of English predicative adjectives into Farsi copular constructions, a recurring pattern in the FED corpus, also offers support to Mahootian’s model, in that the word order conforms to the requirements of the Farsi head, the copular clitic.

- (87) shâyad- am      beshe    ye            kuchulu-ham            **funny-e**  
          maybe -too      become    INDF            small-too            funny-COP.3SG  
          ‘Maybe it is also a bit funny.’



Turning to the noun phrase, Mahootian's model predicts switching where an English noun phrase follows a Farsi determiner, the head of the construction. As seen in the previous section the FED corpus supports this prediction, as shown by the following examples (88) and (89):

- |      |                                      |              |     |                 |             |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|-------------|
| (88) | chêhâr shanbe                        | mi-tun-im    | ye  | <b>shopping</b> | be-kon-im   |
|      | four saturday                        | IMPF-can-1PL | DET | shopping        | SUBJ-do-1PL |
|      | ‘we can go a shopping on wednesday.’ |              |     |                 |             |

- |      |                                |                  |              |     |                 |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|
| (89) | ye                             | <b>pricelist</b> | dâr-e        | in  | <b>lawyer-e</b> |
|      | DET                            | pricelist        | have-COP.3SG | DET | lawyer-DEF. DET |
|      | ‘This lawyer has a pricelist.’ |                  |              |     |                 |

Similarly, Mahootian’s model also predicts switching where a Farsi quantifier precedes an English noun phrase. As seen in the previous section, the FED corpus supports this prediction, as shown by the following example:

- (90) chand-tâ            **advertisements** age    be-zâr-in        tu        ruznâme  
some-CLF          advertisements   if      SUBJ-put-1PL   in      newspaper  
‘if you put some advertisements in the newspaper’

Mahootian's model also predicts that the noun should govern the position of its modifiers. In other words, an English noun should occur with a pre-nominal attributive adjective phrase, while a Farsi noun should occur with a post-nominal attributive adjective phrase.

The FED corpus offers mixed results in relation to this prediction.

In the following example, the English noun *guardian* co-occurs with an English adjective *local*, a structure that meets the predictions of Mahootian's model:

- (91) ye-seriye      kas-âiy      dâr-im      ke      naqsh-e  
          DET-some      person-PL      have-1PL      COMP      role-EZ  
          **local guardian**      o      bâzi      mi-kon-an  
          local guardian      DDO      play      IMPF-do-3PL  
          'We have some people who play the role of a local guardian.'

Similarly, the position of the Farsi attributive adjective *xub* 'good' in (81) conforms to the requirements of the English noun *plan*:

- (92) **xub**      **plan**      *as usual*  
          good      plan      as usual  
          'Good plan, as usual.'

Similarly, the position of the English attributive adjective *international* in (93) conforms to the requirements of the Farsi noun *bi?* 'sales'.

- (93) *Islamic* bi?      bâ      bi?      **international**  
          Islamic sales      with      sales      international  
          ye *complex*-hâ-iy      dâr-e  
          DET complex-PL-INDF      have-1SG  
          'Islamic sales have some complexities with international sales.'

In contrast, example (94) illustrates an English noun with an English post-nominal attributive adjective, and thus stands as a potential counterexample to Mahootian's model, since the English noun should select a pre-nominal adjective. However, the construction is mediated by e-ezafe.

- (94) **experience-hâ-i**    dar modre    **student-hâ-ye**    moxtalefi    ke    dâsht-im  
 experience-PL-INDF    in about    students-PL-EZ    different    COMP have.PST.1PL  
 'Experiences about different students that we had.'

Mahootian's model predicts switching between prepositions and their complements. The FED corpus supports this prediction with a good range of examples (95) and (96).

- (95) bâ            **teacher-et**                    harf    be-zan  
 with    teacher-POSS.2SG    talk    SUBJ-hit  
 'Talk to your teacher.'

- (96) mi-tun-e                    dar    **parents' evening**    sherkat    kon-e  
 IMPF-can-COP.3SG    in    parents' evening    participate    do-3SG  
 'he can attend in the parents' evening.'

In relation to sentential complements, Mahootian's model predicts that switching will occur when the position of the complementiser meets the requirements of the main verb, and when the position of the embedded clause meets the requirements of the complementiser. Since both Farsi and English observe the same constituent order in such constructions, the model predicts that such switches will occur. This

prediction is supported by the FED, as the following examples show (the first with Farsi as matrix language, the second with English as matrix language):

- (97) man                    vâqean                    movâfegh-am                    ke    **we have to do it**  
       pro.1SG                actually                agree-1SG                    COMP    we have to do it  
       ‘I actually agree (that) we have to do it.’

- (98) **she was saying**            ke            dust pesar-esh            mi-yâ-d  
    she was saying            COMP   friend boy-POSS.3SG            IMPF-3SG  
    ‘She was saying that her boyfriend is coming.’

As Mahootian's model also predicts, the FED corpus also contains examples with Farsi verb and English complementiser and embedded clause (99)

- (99) dust-etun                      goft                      **that women are talkative**  
friend-POSS.2SG                  say.PST.3SG        that women are talkative  
  
‘your friend said that women are talkative.’

Turning to co-ordination, Mahootian (1993: 179) posits that the ‘conjunctions are free to match the language of either their first or second conjunct (if the two are different) or they may be in one language while the clauses are in the other language’. The FED corpus also supports this prediction, as shown by the following examples(100) and (101) .

- (100) pas      barâye las fegas-ham      bâyad      visa      be-gir-i vali  
 then to Las Vegas-too      have      visa      SUBJ-get- 2SG but

**I need to get to Miami**

I need to get to Miami

‘I also need a visa to get to Las Vegas, but I need to get to Miami.’

- (101) **he brings his equipments**      va      man      anjâm mi-d-am  
 he brings his equipments      CONJ      1SG.PRO      do      IMPF-give-1SG

‘He brings his equipments and I do the training.’

Finally, Mahootian’s model predicts that switching will occur between bound and free morphemes, where the bound morpheme is the head. As discussed at length above (§8.3.1), the FED supports this prediction with numerous examples. Without repeating the details, the following examples illustrate the range of Farsi bound morphemes that occur with English insertions in the FED corpus.

- (102) dar      Engelestan      **student-hâ-iy**      hast-and      ke      az  
 in      England      student-PL-INDF      is-3PL      COMP      from  
 xârej      az      keshvar      mi-â-nd  
 outside of      country      IMPF-come-3PL

‘In England there are students who are coming from outside of the country.’

- (103) bishtrin kâr      ba      **boarding school**      yan      **day school-e**  
 most      work      with      boarding school      or      day school-COP.3SG  
 ‘Most of the works are with boarding school or day school.’

- (104) du-tâ      **paper-e**      dige      baz      mi-tun-am      be-nvis-am  
 two-CLF      paper-EZ      another again      IMPF-can-1SG      SUBJ-write 1SG  
 ‘I can write another two papers.’

- (105) dar morde      **science-et**      chy?  
 in abou      science-poss.2sg      what?  
 ‘What about your science?’

In sum, Mahootian’s model for the most part explains the findings of the present study, with a few important exceptions. Moreover, this model does not explain the dominance of Farsi heads over English heads in the FED corpus, since the null theory does not take into account how the linguistic background of the speakers may affect codeswitching by introducing linguistic asymmetry into the data (§6.3). Thus, while Mahootian’s model makes a number of predictions that are similar to those discussed in the next section, it does so in a less constrained way.

### 8.3.7 Matrix language approach to codeswitching

Recall from Chapter 4 that certain approaches to codeswitching rely on the concept of asymmetry between the two languages, the most influential of these being the matrix language hypothesis, most recently restated by Myers-Scotton (2016: 204), which has its roots in the closed class item constraint model developed by Joshi (1985). According to matrix language model, evidence for this asymmetry comes

from (a) the observation that the majority of the utterances in a given dataset of bilingual speech are in one language, and (b) the observation that the same language provides the grammatical (closed class) expressions in that dataset. The dominant language is referred to as the matrix language and the other language is referred to as the embedded language. The embedded language contributes open-class expressions to the bilingual conversation. The embedded language may also contribute closed-class expressions if they occur as part of a grammatical constituent headed by an open class expression, but not otherwise. For example, an embedded language noun may occur with an embedded language determiner. In this case, the structure conforms to the requirements of the embedded language, and the insertion forms an ‘embedded language island’ (Myers-Scotton 2009:149). However, the position of the embedded language island is determined by the constituent order requirements of the matrix language.

Recall from Chapter 4 (§4.6.7) that the matrix language model rests on two major principles: the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle (Myers Scotton 1993b:82-83).

The **Morpheme Order Principle** states that in codeswitched utterances, the word and constituent order is determined by the matrix language.

The **System Morpheme Principle** states that in codeswitched utterances, system (grammatical) morphemes, bound and free, will come from the matrix language.

More recently, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) developed the 4-M model, which supplements the matrix language model by elaborating the distinction between content and system morphemes. According to this model, system (grammatical) morphemes fall into one of two types: Early System Morphemes and Late System Morphemes. Late System Morphemes are divided into two types: Bridge Late System Morphemes and Outsider Late System Morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016).

**Early System Morphemes** are grammatical morphemes, bound and free, that convey concepts that are ‘conceptually salient’ and participate in conveying the communicative intent of the speaker (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016: 344). Early

System Morphemes include derivational morphemes, expressions of (in)definiteness, plurality, numerals, possession, degree modifiers, aspect or particles of phrasal verbs. Early System Morphemes can come either from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island.

**Late system morphemes** are grammatical morphemes, bound and free, that make little or no contribution to conceptual structure, but participate in building syntactic structure (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016:344). These fall into two types:

**Bridge Late System Morphemes** are grammatical morphemes that link two units together, such as the preposition *of* in the complex noun phrase *the top of the table*, or the complementiser that links main verb to complement clause. Like Early System Morphemes, Bridge Late System Morphemes can come either from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island (Myers-Scotton & Jake (2016:345).

**Outsider Late System Morphemes** are grammatical morphemes that express relationships between different grammatical elements, such as case and agreement, or pronouns that co-refer with other expressions (such as Romance clitics). (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2016: 345). Unlike the previous two types of system morphemes, Outsider Late System Morphemes are predicted to come only from the matrix language.

Taking into account the 4-M model, the predictions of the matrix language model are as follows:

- The matrix language determines the basic constituent order.
- Content morphemes can come from either the matrix language or the embedded language.
- The embedded language provides open class insertions that are constituents at the level of word, phrase or clause
- Early System Morphemes such as markers of (in)definiteness, possession and number, numerals, quantifiers and degree modifiers are predicted to come either from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as



part of an embedded language island (in this case, they should co-occur with their related embedded language content expression).

- Bridge Late System Morphemes such as prepositions, complementisers and copulas are predicted to come either from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island (in this case, they should co-occur with their related embedded language content expression).
- Outsider Late System Morphemes such as markers of case and agreement or co-referential pronouns are predicted to come only from the matrix language, although clausal islands are an obvious exception.
- Double morphology (the presence of morphemes from both matrix language and embedded language) are predicted to occur only in the case of Early System Morphemes.

With respect to evidence for the matrix language, recall from Chapter 6 (§6.3) that quantitative evidence for asymmetry between the two languages was overwhelmingly present in the FED. Not only is the number of set aside turns that are only in Farsi much higher than the set aside turns that were only in English, but also the number of utterances containing English insertions into a Farsi matrix language frame was much higher than those utterances containing Farsi insertions into an English matrix language frame. Thus, the data was established to address RQ1 (§6.2) by offering clear support for the matrix language hypothesis. As hypothesised, Farsi functions more frequently than English as the matrix language because the participants in this study are unbalanced bilinguals (§4.5.1).

With respect to the linguistic detail, the remainder of the discussion in this section evaluates the evidence for the above predictions, with a particular focus on the distribution of grammatical morphemes in codeswitched utterances.

Beginning with the prediction that the matrix language determines the word and constituent order, recall from the previous two chapters that the FED corpus offers substantial support for this prediction, particularly in relation to the structure of the verb phrase, a key area of word order difference between Farsi and English. The



(109) Age	âdam	mi-xâ-d	be-r-e	lab-e	daryâ
if	human	IMPF-want-3SG	SUBJ-go-3SG	edge-EZ	sea
hâl	kon-e,	bâyad	be-re	<b>private beach</b>	
enjoy	do-3SG	should	SUBJ-go-3SG	private beach	

‘If someone wants to enjoy the sea, he should go to a private beach.’

With respect to the prediction that content morphemes can come from either the matrix language or the embedded language, and the prediction that the embedded language provides open class insertions that are constituents at the level of word, phrase or clause, there is also a wealth of evidence in support of this prediction from the data presented in the previous two chapters, particularly the finding in Chapter 6 that single word insertions are limited overwhelmingly to content expressions.

Turning to the prediction that Early System Morphemes such as markers of (in)definiteness, demonstratives, possession and number, numerals, quantifiers and degree modifiers are predicted to come either from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island, the FED corpus provides a considerable amount of evidence in support of this prediction, although there are some counterexamples.

Beginning with markers of (in)definiteness, recall that Farsi, unlike English, does not have a definite article but marks definiteness by means of the definite direct object marker (DDO). Indefiniteness is marked by determiners like *ye* and by the suffix *-i*. As predicted these come from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island (110) and (111):

- (110) fardâ                      ye        **meeting-i**                      dâr-am  
                  tomorrow              INDF    meeting-INDF                      have-1SG  
                  ‘Tomorrow I have a meeting.’

- (111) **an application**    nevesht-am  
                  an application    write.PST-1SG  
                  ‘I wrote an application.’

However, the FED corpus contains a few counterexamples to this prediction, where an English definite determiner occurs with a Farsi noun, such as the following example (112)

- (112) **the**                      rusary                      behtar-e  
                  the                      scarf                      better-COP.3SG  
                  ‘The scarf is better.’

Similarly, markers of number come either from the matrix language or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island as the following examples illustrate that (113) and (114):

- (113) lotfan    **ticket-hâ**              ro              print    kon  
                  please    ticket-PL              DDO    print    do.2SG  
                  ‘Please print the tickets.’



- (118) **this interview** baraye man xeili mohem-e  
 this interview for pro.1sg very important-cop.3sg  
 ‘This interview is very important for me.’

However, the FED corpus contains a couple of counterexamples to this prediction, where an English demonstrative determiner occurs with a Farsi noun, such as the following example (119):

- (119) **this** mozu? ziâd tul kesh-id  
 this topic very long take.PST-3SG  
 ‘This topic took so long.’

Similarly, numerals come either from the matrix language or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island (note that the expression pond ‘pound’ is an English loanword in Farsi) examples (120) and (121) shows that:

- (120) mi-g-e ke *an application* o ye *business plan*  
 IMPF-say-3SG COMP an application CONJ INDF business plan  
 mi-sh-e **thousand** pond  
 IMPF-become-3SG thousand ponds  
 ‘He says that an application and a business plan costs £1000.’

- (121) **forty minutes** mâ                      ro              goft-an              beshin  
                  forty minutes   PRO.1PL                      DDO              tell.PST.3SG              sit1PL  
                  ‘They told us to sit (wait) for 40 minutes’

However, the FED corpus also contains counterexamples to this prediction, where a Farsi noun occurs with an English numeral. As the following example (122):

- (122) **two**              maqale              nevesht-am              mah-e              pish  
                  two              article              write.pst-1sg              month-ez              before  
                  ‘Last month I wrote two articles.’

As predicted by the matrix language model, quantifiers come either from the matrix language or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island. This shown in example (123) and (124):

- (123) chand-tâ              **advertisement**              age              be-zâr-i  
                  some-CLF              advertisement              if              SUBJ-put-2SG  
                  ‘If you put some advertisements’

- (124) tu              London              **some places**              raft-am  
                  in              London              some places              go.PST-1SG  
                  ‘I have been to some places in London’

The FED corpus contains some counterexamples to this prediction, where an English quantifier appears with a Farsi noun, such as the following example (125):

- (125) **more**    daneshju    tarjih    mid-an    ba  
          more    student    prefer    IMPF-give.3PL    with  
          *host family*    zendegi    kon-an  
          host family    live    do-3PL  
          ‘More students prefer to live with host families.’

Similarly, degree modifiers come either from the matrix language or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island. As examples (126) and (127):

- (126) unjâ    mardom    xeily    **friendly-an**  
          there    people    very    friendly-3SG.COP  
          ‘There people are very friendly.’

- (127) niece-et    **so cute-e**  
          niece-POSS.2SG    so cute-COP.3SG  
          ‘Your niece is so cute.’

The FED corpus contains two counterexamples to this prediction, where an English degree modifier occurs with a Farsi adjective, such as example (128):



- (128) baraye âyand-ash **very** mohem-e  
 for future-POSS.3SG very important-COP.3SG  
 ‘It is very important for her future.’

Turning to the prediction that Bridge Late System Morphemes such as prepositions, complementisers and copulas are predicted to come either from the matrix language, or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island, the FED corpus also offers considerable evidence in support of this prediction, although there are also some counterexamples.

Beginning with prepositions, the following examples illustrate that these come either from the matrix language or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island. Examples (129) and (130) show this:

- (129) az **introduction** shoru? na-kon  
 from introduction start NEG-do 2SG  
 ‘Do not start from the introduction.’

- (130) daram ye maqale mi-nevis-am  
 PRES.PROG.1SG INDF article IMPF-write-1SG

**about Kubaneh women**

about Kubaneh women

‘I am writing an article about Kubaneh women.’

However, the FED corpus does contain a few examples to this prediction, where an English preposition occurs with a Farsi noun. This is illustrated by examples (131) and (132):

- (131) man      **through**      telegram      aks-hâ      ro      ferestad-am  
 PRO.1SG through      telegram      photo-PL      DDO      send.PST-1SG  
 ‘I sent the photos by telegram.’

- (132) jâ      **for**      mâmân-et      nist  
 place      for      mom-2SG      NEG.COP  
 ‘There is no place for your mom.’ ‘There is no enough room for your mom.’

Similarly, complementisers come either from the matrix language or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island this illustrated examples (133) and (134):

- (133) man      vâqean      movâfegh-am      ke      **we have to do it**  
 pro.1SG      actually      agree-1SG      COMP      we have to do it  
 ‘I actually agree that we have to do it.’

- (134) dust-etun      goft      **that women are talkative**  
 friend-POSS.2SG      say.PST.3SG      that women are talkative  
 ‘Your friend said that women are talkative.’

However, the FED corpus does contain a few counterexamples to this prediction, where an English complementiser occurs with a Farsi verb and Farsi embedded clause. This is illustrated by the following examples (135):

- (135) dâsht-am      belit-e      las fegas      o      mi-gereft-am  
          want-pst.1sg    ticket-ez      Las Vegas    ddo      impf-get-1sg  
          **that**      Sâyer            goft            maman-esh      mi-a-d  
          comp      Saxer            say.pst.3sg    mother-poss.3sg      impf-come-3sg

Similarly, copulas come either from the matrix language or from the embedded language as part of an embedded language island. This is shown by example (136) and (137):

- (136) Brighton **mini**              **London-e**  
          Brighton mini              London-cop.3sg  
          ‘Brighton is a mini London.’

- (137) dust-etun                      goft                      **that women are talkative**  
          friend-POSS.2SG              say.PST.3SG              that women are talkative  
          ‘your friend said that women are talkative.’

The FED corpus contains no counterexamples to this prediction, where an English copular occurs with a Farsi predicate.

In addition, the frequent presence of the Farsi e-ezafe in codeswitched utterances is also an example of the bridge late system morpheme category, since e-ezafe links together grammatical units (138), (139), and (140):

(138) **business-e**      xodam-e

business-EZ      myself-COP.1SG

‘This is my own business.’

(139) **student-hâ-ye**      moxtalefi      ke      dâst-im  
students-PL-EZ      different      COMP      have.PST.1PL

‘Different students that we had.’

(140) ye-seriye      kas-âiy      dâr-im      ke      naqsh-e

DET-some      person-PL      have-1PL      COMP      role-EZ

**local guardian**      o      bâzi      mi-kon-an

local guardian      DDO      play      IMPF-do-3PL

‘We have some people who play the role of a local guardian.’

Turning to the prediction that Outsider Late System Morphemes such as markers of case and agreement or co-referential pronouns are predicted to come only from the matrix language, since neither Farsi or English have morphological marking of case on lexical noun phrases, this type of evidence is absent from the FED corpus. However, there is substantial evidence in the form of subject-verb agreement,

which comes entirely from Farsi in the FED corpus, with the exception of clausal islands, and in the form of co-referential pronouns.

As the following examples show, even when a codeswitched utterance contains an English verb, the presence of the Farsi subject-verb agreement is enabled by the light verb construction, in which the finite (light) verb carries the agreement morphology. This is shown by the following examples (141) and (142):

- (141) nehâyatan      mi-xâ-m                      ke      **submit**                      kon-am  
                  finally                      IMPF-want-1SG                      COMP      submit                      do-1SG  
                  ‘I finally want to submit it.’

- (142) **cancel**      kard-am                      o      be-hesh                      goft-am                      ke      kêr      dêr-am  
                  cancel      do.PST-1SG                      and      to-3SG.PRO      tell.PST-1SG      COMP      work      have-1SG  
                  ‘I cancelled and told him that I am busy.’

The following example illustrates the presence of English subject-verb agreement morphology in the context of a clausal insertion. In this example, there is subject-verb agreement between the subject *women* and the copula *are*: the following example show this (143)

- (143) dust-etun                                      goft                                      **that women are talkative**  
                  friend-POSS.2SG                                      say.PST.3SG                                      that women are talkative  
                  ‘your friend said that women are talkative.’

There are no examples in the FED corpus of English inflections on Farsi verbs, or Farsi inflections on English verbs. In part, this follows from the nature of Farsi verbal morphology. Recall that tense is part of the verb stem in Farsi (§3.9.4). In the case of subject-verb agreement, though, the typological differences between the languages do not explain the absence of such examples (§3.9.3).

In the case of co-referential pronouns, the FED corpus contains a few examples of topic constructions like (124), where the topic phrase is an English insertion, but the co-referential pronoun *-sh* is from Farsi, as predicted by the matrix language and 4-M model. This is shown in the following example (144):

(144) <b>the bread</b>	in	lab-â-sh	tafâvote
the bread	DET	lip-PL-POSS.3SG	different

The bread, it's sides are different.'

Finally, turning to the prediction that double morphology (the presence of morphemes from both matrix language and embedded language) are predicted to occur only in the case of Early System Morphemes, the FED corpus also offers substantial support for this prediction. In the context of Farsi-English codeswitching, the relevant Early System Morphemes are markers of (in)definiteness, possession and number, as well as numerals and degree modifiers.

In the following example, the English noun is double-marked for definiteness with both the English definite determiner and the Farsi definite direct object marker this is illustrated in the following example (145):

(145) <b>the writer</b>	ro	be-g-id	ke	chejori	bud-e
the writer	DDO	SUBJ-say-2SG	RELPRO	how	COP.PST-3SG

'You have to talk about the writer.'

In the following example, the English noun is double-marked for possession with both the English possessive determiner and the Farsi possessive clitic pronoun (146):

- |       |            |                      |        |                |
|-------|------------|----------------------|--------|----------------|
| (146) | <b>his</b> | <b>lifestyle-esh</b> | avaz   | shod           |
|       | his        | lifestyle-POSS.3SG   | change | become.PST.3SG |
- ‘his lifestyle changed.’

In the following example, the English noun is double-marked for plural with both the English and Farsi plural markers as the following example (147):

- |       |               |                     |     |              |
|-------|---------------|---------------------|-----|--------------|
| (147) | mi-xâ-m       | <b>friends-hâ-m</b> | o   | be-bin-am    |
|       | IMPF-want-1SG | friends-PL-POSS.1SG | DDO | SUBJ-see-1SG |
- ‘I want to see my friends.’

However, the FED corpus contains no such examples where the English noun is double-marked for numeral with both the English and Farsi numerals, or double-marked with both English and Farsi degree modifiers.

The FED corpus also contains a single example where the English noun is double marked with both English and Farsi copula (148):

- |       |                  |      |           |                  |
|-------|------------------|------|-----------|------------------|
| (148) | <i>service-e</i> | inja | <b>is</b> | <i>amazing-e</i> |
|       | service-EZ       | here | is        | amazing-COP.3SG  |
- ‘The service in here is amazing.’

Since the copula is a bridge late system morpheme, this example stands as a counterexample to the prediction that only Early System Morphemes will participate in double morphology. However, the FED corpus does not contain any examples of double morphology in the case of late bridge system morphemes for preposition and complementizer.

## **8.4 Evaluation of codeswitching models**

As the preceding discussion demonstrates, each of the models discussed above is found to be empirically inadequate to a greater or lesser degree. In the present section, I evaluate the extent of each model's (in)adequacy and suggest some revisions to existing models.

### **8.4.1. Evaluation**

Poplack's (1980) Linear Order Approach faces numerous counterexamples from the FED corpus. In particular, the findings clearly refute the free morpheme constraint, as the corpus provides numerous examples where bound Farsi morphemes attach to English nouns or adjectives that are not integrated into the language as loanwords. The FED corpus also provides a range of counterexamples to the predictions of the Equivalence Constraint. Although Farsi and English have dissimilar word order, for example in the order of verb and object as well as noun and its adjectival modifier, switching is permissible between verb and object and between noun and modifier.

Bentahila and Davies's (1983) subcategorisation principle receives only partial support from the FED corpus. The model is adequate for predicting clausal insertion, but at the level of single word and phrasal insertions, the FED corpus provides more counterexamples than supportive examples. In addition, the subcategorisation principle model also assumes Poplack's free morpheme constraint, for which the FED corpus provides numerous counterexamples, as seen in the previous section.



While Woolford's (1983) Phrase Structure Congruence model arguably offers a better-developed theoretical explanation for constraints on codeswitching, the empirical predictions of the model do not differ in any significant way from those of the models discussed above: word-internal switches are predicted not to occur, and other codeswitches are predicted to occur only when the two languages share syntactic structures. As the discussion in the previous sections demonstrates, the FED corpus provides counterexamples to both these predictions of Woolford's model.

Similarly, while the FED corpus offers partial support for the Government Constraint Model developed by DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986), it also offers numerous counterexamples, demonstrating that a model based on the concept of government cannot fully account for the findings of the present study.

The Functional Head Constraint model of Belazi, Rubin & Toribio (1994) receives some support from the FED corpus, particularly in relation to codeswitches that relate to the verb and the verb phrase, but the model fails to account for numerous other structures that occur in the FED corpus, which offers numerous examples of switches occurring between functional heads (bound and free) and their complements.

Mahootian's (1993) null theory of codeswitching faces fewer counterexamples from the FED, but I argue that this model also fails to fully account for the data because Mahootian does not assume any asymmetry between the two languages involved in codeswitching, and her model thus over-generates by predicting forms that do not occur.

Finally, I hypothesised that the matrix language model by Myers-Scotton (1993), together with the 4-M model developed by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2016) would account most satisfactorily for the FED, in particular in its ability to account for (a) the asymmetry between the two languages, and (b) in its consequent predictions not only in relation to word order but also in relation to the distribution of closed class morphemes.

To an extent, this hypothesis is borne out: as argued above, the FED corpus provides robust evidence in support of the matrix language hypothesis, as there is clear evidence for the asymmetry between Farsi and English in the data.

However, as shown above, the FED corpus still offers some counterexamples to the matrix language model. In the case of Early System Morphemes, these counterexamples include insertions of English definite determiner, demonstrative determiner, numeral and quantifier occurring with Farsi noun, as well as English degree modifier occurring with Farsi adjective. However, the FED corpus does not contain any counterexamples showing the insertion of an English plural marker or possessive determiner occurring with a Farsi noun.

In regard to Bridge Late System Morphemes, the FED corpus provides a few counterexamples for the model. These include English preposition occurring with Farsi noun and English complementiser occurring with Farsi verb and Farsi embedded clause. However, the FED does not offer any counterexamples where an English copula occurs with a Farsi non-verbal predicate.

Notably, the FED corpus supports the predictions of the model in relation to Outsider Late System Morphemes, since the data does not contain any counterexamples where there is switching between verbs and verbal inflection.

Finally, turning to the prediction that double morphology (the presence of morphemes from both matrix language and embedded language) are predicted to occur only in the case of Early System Morphemes, the FED corpus also offers substantial support for this prediction. In the context of Farsi-English codeswitching, the relevant Early System Morphemes are markers of (in)definiteness, possession and number, as well as numerals and degree modifiers. However, the FED corpus also contains a single example of double copular morphology, a bridge late system morpheme.

As this discussion demonstrates, most of the models reviewed in relation to the FED are found to be empirically inadequate to a greater or lesser extent. The two

models whose predictions best account for the FED are Mahootian's (1993) null theory and the matrix language model developed by Myers-Scotton (1993), together with the 4-M model developed by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2016). Despite this, neither model fully accounts for the FED, which offers a number of counterexamples to the predictions of both models.

Recall that the core differences between these two models relate to (a) the content/function distinction that is central to the matrix language model, but not the null theory; (b) the restriction on (certain types of) bound morphemes that is also central to the matrix language model, but not the null theory; and (c) the asymmetry between the two languages that is assumed by the matrix language model but not by the null theory.

Table 8.2 summarises the empirical predictions of the null theory and the evidence for or against these predictions from the FED corpus. Table 8.3 evaluates the matrix language model in the same way. Predictions in bold indicate areas where the two languages differ in their word order. Where the 'counterexamples' column contains a 'yes' (also in bold), this indicates that the number of counterexamples is higher than 10, which I consider sufficient to reject the prediction. Numbers in parentheses indicate representative example numbers. Moreover, cases where counterexamples occurred only in low numbers, they are indicated in the table with an asterisk; this indicates that the number of counterexamples is less than five, which therefore should be treated with caution. However, I argue that the determiners are significant even if they occur individually in small numbers, since when grouped together they represent a significant pattern.

Table 8.2 Evaluation of predictions: Null theory (Mahootian 1993)

<b>Prediction</b>	<b>Supporting examples</b>	<b>Counter-examples</b>
<b>English object preceding Farsi verb</b>	Yes	<b>Yes (81)</b>
<b>Farsi object following English verb</b>	No	No
<b>English complement preceding Farsi light verb</b>	Yes	No
<b>Farsi complement following English light verb</b>	No	No
<b>English predicative adjective preceding Farsi copula</b>	Yes	No
<b>Farsi predicative adjective following English copula</b>	No	No
English/Farsi noun following Farsi/English determiner	Yes	No
English/Farsi noun following Farsi /English quantifier	Yes	No
<b>Farsi noun preceding English attributive adjective</b>	Yes	No
<b>English noun following Farsi attributive adjective</b>	No	No
English/Farsi noun phrase following Farsi/English preposition	Yes	No

English/Farsi complementiser following Farsi/English verb	Yes	No
English/Farsi clause following Farsi/English complementiser	Yes	No
conjunctions can switch freely	Yes	No

As Table 8.2 shows, Mahootian's model for the most part predicts the findings of the present study, with the important exception of examples like (81) above, in which a Farsi verb is followed by an English object.

In addition, this model does not explain the dominance of Farsi heads over English heads in the FED corpus, since the null theory does not take into account how the linguistic background of the speakers may affect codeswitching by introducing linguistic asymmetry into the data.

Table 8.3 Evaluation of predictions: Matrix language model/4M model (Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016)

Prediction	Supporting examples	Counterexamples
<b>OV word order unless in English island</b>	Yes	<b>Yes (81)</b>
<b>NA word order unless in English island</b>	Yes	No
plural marker from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	No
double plural marking	Yes	N/A
(in)efinite marker from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	<b>Yes (112) *</b>
double (in)definiteness marking	Yes	N/A
demonstrative marker from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	<b>Yes (119) *</b>
double demonstrative marking	Yes	N/A
numeral from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	<b>Yes (122) *</b>
double numeral marking	Yes	N/A
possessive marker from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	No
double possessive marking	Yes	N/A
quantifier from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	<b>Yes (125) *</b>
double quantifier marking	Yes	N/A
degree modifier from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	<b>Yes (128) *</b>
double degree modifier marking	Yes	N/A
prepositions from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	<b>Yes (131) *</b>
no doubling of preposition	Yes	No
complementiser from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	No
no doubling of complementiser	Yes	No
copula from Farsi unless in English island	Yes	No
no doubling of copula	Yes	<b>Yes (148)*</b>
e-ezafe	Yes	No
subject-verb agreement from Farsi unless in clausal island	Yes	No

As Table 8.3 shows, the matrix language model by Myers-Scotton (1993), together with the 4-M model developed by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2016) accounts more satisfactorily for the FED in its ability to account for the asymmetry between the two languages, which thus avoids the problem of over-generation faced by the null theory.

The main counterexamples faced by the matrix language model are (a) the presence of examples like (81) above, in which a Farsi verb is followed by an English object

(a problem also shared by the null theory); (b) the presence of English determiners (Early System Morphemes) outside of embedded language islands; (c) the presence of English prepositions (a bridge late system morpheme) outside of embedded language islands; (d) the doubling of the copula (a bridge late system morpheme); and (e) the presence of English adjectives premodifying Farsi nouns, although this only occurs when mediated by *e-ezafe*.

In the next subsection, I suggest some revisions to these models, drawing together the positive aspects of both the null theory and the matrix language model, while fully accounting for the above counterexamples.

#### **8.4.2. A revised model of codeswitching**

Given the findings above and the shortcomings of the existing models, I suggest that a model that retains the assumption of asymmetry between the two languages is needed, but the model should less narrowly restrict the distribution of early and bridge late system grammatical morphemes.

In keeping with the predictions of the matrix language model, the FED shows the dominance of Farsi grammatical morphemes and Farsi word order.

However, the FED also shows that where the two languages have similar structures, codeswitching will be possible, and this includes the presence of grammatical morphemes (in particular, determiners and prepositions) from the embedded language in the absence of embedded language islands. The FED also shows that both VO and OV word order occur.

Therefore, based on the FED corpus, I argue that a descriptively adequate model of codeswitching should assume that the grammar of both languages participates in codeswitching. Like Mahootian (1993), I reject the concept of a third grammar underlying bilingual language use (§8.3.1), but assume that a bilingual speaker has access to the structure of the both/all their languages, which therefore interact in codeswitching. As Mahootian argues, this entails that the speaker is thus expected to produce codeswitched utterances that meet the requirements of one or other language but is not expected to produce constructions that are absent from both/all their languages, such as postpositions or postnominal determiners, in the case of

Farsi-English codeswitching. In addition to assuming asymmetry between the two languages, I also depart from Mahootian's model in rejecting the assumption that the head of the construction determines the word order. Instead, both VO and OV are predicted, regardless of the language of the head, because both orders are present in the Farsi-English bilingual grammar.

Similarly, where embedded language islands occur, these are expected to reflect the word order of the embedded language. For example, '*student international*' is not predicted, but the FED shows that such constructions may occur if mediated by *e-ezafe*, a grammatical construction that imposes the word order of the matrix language.

The following bullet-point list summarises the assumptions of a descriptively adequate codeswitching model that emerge from the present study:

- The matrix language provides the majority of expressions in the bilingual utterance, both content (open class) and grammatical (closed class) expressions.
- Only the matrix language provides bound grammatical morphemes, unless they are provided by the embedded language together with their related content word as part of an insertion.
- As in the matrix language model, the matrix language provides the majority of expressions in the bilingual utterance, both content (open class) and grammatical (closed class) expressions. Despite this, the FED corpus shows that sometimes the majority of the expressions, including functional morphemes, are from language A, which entails that the language A might be considered the matrix language, whilst the main verb comes from language B, which casts doubt on language A as the matrix language. I therefore propose that inflection on the main verb should be taken as the criterion to determine the matrix language of the clause (§7.3).
- The embedded language insertion is expected to be a grammatical constituent at the level of the word, the phrase or the clause.
- The embedded language predominantly contributes content words and phrases, but may also contribute grammatical words with or without their associated content expressions.



- The word order of the codeswitched utterance is constrained by the grammatical constructions of the two languages; constructions present in both or either of the languages may occur, while constructions absent from both languages will not occur.
- The matrix language predominantly determines the word order. However, as the FED data shows, the structures of both languages can interact in codeswitching, to produce utterances that are anomalous to the syntactic rules of the matrix language (e.g. VO and OV structure; noun-adjective and adjective-noun structure mediated by *e-ezafe*).
- Embedded language insertions can be double marked by the presence of morphemes from both matrix language and embedded language, including the copula. This departs from the assumption of the matrix language model that, as a late bridge system morpheme, the copula always must come from the matrix language.

### 8.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the findings described in the previous two chapters have been discussed in terms of how well they are accounted for by the various models of codeswitching reviewed in Chapter 4, with a view to answering the third and final research question. I conclude that the two most adequate models for predicting the FED are Mahootian's (1993) null theory and Myers-Scotton's (1993) matrix language model together with the 4M model developed by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2016). However, both models incorrectly predict the absence of examples like (81) above, in which a Farsi verb is followed by an English object. In addition, the null theory over-generates by failing to account for the asymmetry between Farsi and English in the FED. While the matrix language/4M model fares better in this regard, it incorrectly predicts the absence of determiners and prepositions outside of embedded language islands, as well as adjective-noun order mediated by *e-ezafe*. I therefore make some revisions to these models, arriving at an approach that retains the assumption of asymmetry between the two languages, but that less narrowly restricts the distribution of early and bridge late system grammatical morphemes.

## Chapter 9

### Conclusions, limitations and implications for future research

#### 9.1 Conclusions

This thesis has investigated the grammatical aspects of codeswitching in Farsi-English bilingual speech, based on data produced by unbalanced Farsi-English bilinguals in the UK city of Brighton. The research questions focused on (1) whether there was evidence for asymmetry between the two languages, (2) how these two typologically dissimilar languages interact in bilingual speech, and (3) which of the codeswitching models reviewed in this thesis best account for the Farsi-English data.

The participants in this study were twenty Iranian Farsi-English bilinguals ranging in age from 18-30 years, who had been living in the UK for more than six years. The methodology relied upon (a) a questionnaire to gather linguistic and relevant non-linguistic information about the participants, (b) recordings of spontaneous conversation between-pairs of these participants, amounting to 10 hours of recorded data, and (c) coding and quantitative analysis of selectively transcribed codeswitched utterances contained in that recorded data.

In regard to the first research question, in order to determine whether the data provided evidence for asymmetry between the two languages, the utterances containing codeswitching were divided into two main sets, based on which language was the matrix language. It emerged clearly that Farsi was the matrix language and English was the embedded language, since out of 568 codeswitched utterances in the data, only 22 had English as the matrix language, while 546 had Farsi as the matrix language. As hypothesised, Farsi functions more frequently than English as the matrix language because the participants in this study are unbalanced bilinguals.

In regard to the second research question, which focused on how these two typologically dissimilar languages interact in bilingual speech, initially single word insertions were investigated. It emerged that English single word insertions into Farsi matrix language utterances were typically but not exclusively open class expressions, the majority falling into the category noun and bare infinitive verb. In most cases,

the resulting structure was consistent with the word order requirements of Farsi grammar, although there were a few counterexamples to this generalisation. It also emerged that Farsi grammatical morphemes played an important role in these codeswitched utterances, with English single word insertions frequently occurring with Farsi grammatical morphemes, including free morphemes like the definite direct object marker or the indefinite determiner, as well as bound morphemes like the copula, *e-ezaf*, suffixes indicating indefiniteness or plurality, and the possessive or object clitic pronoun. In some cases, the English insertion was double marked for a given feature by both English and Farsi grammatical morphemes. Finally, it was also shown that English verb insertions did not appear with Farsi verbal inflections. Instead, English verb insertions occurred within the Farsi light verb construction, which is headed by a Farsi light verb that carries tense/aspect and agreement morphology. I suggest that the main reason for this is that the Farsi verb does not have a simple root whose position can be occupied by an English verb stem. To this extent, the hypothesis that typological dissimilarity may constrain codeswitching receives support from the findings set out in this chapter.

The data was then investigated in terms of phrasal and clausal insertions. It was shown that these insertions contained English grammatical morphemes such as determiners, auxiliaries prepositions, complementisers and conjunctions. For those most part, these phrasal and clausal insertions also resulted in structures that were consistent with Farsi grammatical structure, although there were also some exceptions to this generalisation, including verb-object order and adjective-noun order.

Finally, the descriptive findings were considered in relation to the codeswitching theories reviewed in the thesis, showing that most of these models are found to be empirically inadequate, failing to predict patterns present in the FED. These shortcomings relate in particular to (a) the failure to predict the attachment of Farsi grammatical morphemes to English insertions; (b) the failure to predict certain types of switches; and (c) the failure to predict word orders present in the data.

The two models whose predictions best account for the FED are Mahootian's (1993) null theory and the matrix language model developed by Myers-Scotton (1993), together with the 4-M model developed by (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2016).

Despite this, neither model fully accounts for the FED, which offers a number of counterexamples to the predictions of both models. Mahootian's model for the most part predicts the findings of the present study, with the important exception of examples in which a Farsi verb is followed by an English object. I also argue that this model over-generates by failing to account for the asymmetry between the two languages in the data. In contrast, the matrix language/4M model accounts for this asymmetry, but faces counterexamples including the presence of examples in which a Farsi verb is followed by an English object (a problem also shared by the null theory) as well as incorrectly predicting the absence of determiners and prepositions outside of embedded language islands, as well as adjective-noun order mediated by *e-ezafe*.

I therefore propose an approach that retains the assumption of asymmetry between the two languages, but that less narrowly restricts the distribution of early and bridge late system grammatical morphemes. In this approach, the matrix language provides the majority of expressions in the bilingual utterance, both content (open class) and grammatical (closed class) expressions. In addition, only the matrix language provides bound grammatical morphemes, unless they are provided by the embedded language together with their related content word as part of a phrasal or clausal insertion.

The embedded language insertion is expected to be a grammatical constituent at the level of the word, the phrase or the clause. Moreover, the embedded language predominantly contributes content words and phrases, but may also contribute grammatical words with or without their associated content expressions. Inflection on the main verb is taken as the criterion to determine the matrix language of the clause (§8.4.2).

## 9.2 Limitations

In my view, there are two main limitations to the present study.

First, the nature of the participants constrains the possible outcomes. For historical and political reasons, to study a community of Farsi-English bilinguals in the UK at the present time is to study unbalanced bilinguals, since the dominant language in

that speech community is still Farsi. The resulting dataset therefore offers very strong evidence for the matrix language hypothesis, since Farsi emerges clearly as the matrix language. In one way, this is a positive outcome, since it offers a body of new data to test the predictions of that model. However, from another perspective, it does not offer the potential to challenge the model that another dataset might.

The second limitation relates to the size of the dataset, which is a relatively small corpus at 12,486 words. Although clear patterns emerge from the data that allow generalisations to be drawn, a larger dataset would naturally allow more robust conclusions. In particular, the counterexamples that occur in small numbers the FED require closer investigation. However, the resources available for the present study were such that it was not practicable to construct a larger dataset.

### **9.3 Implications for future research**

Given the above limitations, future studies on the structural aspects of Farsi-English codeswitching would ideally be based on larger datasets drawn from a variety of locations, thus making it possible to take into account a wider range of variation in sociolinguistic terms. It would also be ideal to conduct a longitudinal or apparent time study to observe how the speech of different generations of Farsi-English bilinguals varies in structural terms, and what the implications of these findings would be for models of codeswitching. For example, given balanced bilinguals, would Mahootian's null theory of codeswitching predict the results more satisfactorily than it does in the present study, or would the data still offer evidence for some asymmetry between the two languages?

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix 1: Questionnaire**



#### **The nature of the research project**

This research investigates “grammatical aspects of code switching in Farsi-English Bilingual speech”: the researcher is interested in finding out what kinds of grammatical constraints govern Farsi/English code switching (when English-Farsi bilinguals use both languages in a conversation). You will be asked to complete a questionnaire about yourself and your linguistic background.

Then you will be recorded in conversation with another speaker for approximately 20-30 minutes; all personal information will be kept confidential, as well as your identity.

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project, either by the researcher or by any other party.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

NB: This data also can be used in further research projects which all personal information will be kept confidential, as well as your identity.

Your participating in this research will highly be appreciated.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

### Background Information

1. ID Code
  2. Sex
  3. Age
  4. Education level (highest diploma or degree)
  5. Occupation/Profession
  6. Which language(s) do you use in the workplace/at university?
  7. Which language(s) do you use at home?
- 

### Linguistic information

8. How old were you when you started learning the English language? Was acquisition **naturalistic** (outside of school), **instructed** (at school), or both?

Naturalistic ☐

Instructed ☐

9. Which do you consider to be your dominant language (Farsi or English)?

Farsi ☐

English ☐

10. What language(s) does your partner speak?

Farsi ☐

English ☐

11. On the scale from 1 (basic) to 5 (fully fluent) how do you rate yourself in speaking, understanding, reading, writing in both Farsi and English languages?

Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
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Farsi

English

12. Where do you use each of the languages and with whom?

With whom

Where

Farsi

English





## Appendix 2: Codeswitching examples in the FED corpus

### A. Single word (including compounds)/single word phrase insertions

- (1) bâ      **personality**-sh      âshnâ-i  
with      personality-POSS.3SG      familiar-COP.2SG  
‘You are familiar with his personality.’

- (2) faqat      **result**      ro      did-am  
only      result      DDO      see.PST-1SG  
‘I just saw the result.’

- (3) dubare      **try**      kon  
again      try      do.2SG  
‘Try again.’

- (4) be ?onvan-e      **guardian**      bayad      bache ro      **accommodate**  
kon-e  
as-EZ      guardian      should      kid      DDO      accommodate  
do-3SG  
‘As a guardian s/he should accommodate the kid’

- (5) **starter**      ham      **cold**      dare      ham      **warm**  
starter      also      cold      have      also      warm  
‘The starter has cold and worm’

(6) in            **writer** xeily **popular** o    xeily **famous-e**            to reshte-ye  
man

this            writer very    popular    and very    famous-COP.3SG in subject-EZ  
COP.1SG

‘This writer is very popular and very famous in my subject.’

(7) esm-e            **title-e**            chi-e  
name-EZ            title-INDF            what-COP.3SG

‘What is the name of the title.’ ‘what is the title.’

(8) baraye    man    **base-eshan**            in-e            ke            bayad **focus**    kon-am  
For            me            base-POSS.3PL this-COP.3PL    COMP    should focus    do-1SG

‘For me, I should focus on their bases’

(9) ba            **teacher-et**            harf            be-zan  
to            teacher-POSS.2SG            take            SUBJ-hit

‘Talk to your teacher.’

(10) tamâme            **student-hâ-ye**            international  
all            student-PL-EZ            international

‘All international students.’

(11) mi-xâ-d            **gym-e**            zanune            be-zan-e  
IMPF-want-3SG    gym-EZ            womanly            SUBJ-hit-3SG

‘He wants to open a gym for women (women’s gym).’

(12) **station**            bayal-e            xuna-sh-e  
          station            close-EZ            house-POSS-COP.3SG  
 ‘The station is close to his house.’

(13) emruz            raft-i            **library?**  
          today            go.PST-2SG            library  
 ‘Did you go to the library today?’

(14) bebin            **makeup**            xeily    mohem-e  
          look            makeup            very    important-COP.3SG  
 ‘Look, makeup is very important’

(15) mn            **plan**    dar-am            baraye            emruz  
          PRO.1SG            plan    have-1SG            for            today  
 ‘I have a plan for today.’

(16) hodud-e            **4 hours**            dars    xund-am  
          about-EZ            4 hours            study    read.PST-1SG  
 ‘I studied for about 4 hours.’

(17) mi-xa-m            **shoes, clothes**            be-xar-am  
          IMPF-want-1SG            shoes, clothes            SUBJ-buy-1SG  
 ‘I want to buy clothes, shoes.’

(18) mi-xâ-m            **friends-hâ-m**            o            be-bin-am  
          IMPF-want-1SG            friends-PL-POSS.1SG    DDO    SUBJ-see-1SG  
 ‘I want to see my friends.’

(19) **2 years-e**                      ba      ham                      hastand

2 years-COP.3SG with      each other              COP.3PL

‘They have been together for two years’

(20) **weekend-hâ**      sar-am                      kheily              sholuy-e

weekend-PL      head-POSS.1SG              very              busy-COP.1SG

‘On the weekends I am very busy.’

(21) mozuʔ-et                      **subject-e**              **interesting-e**

subject-PRO.2SG              subject-EZ              interesting-COP.3SG

vali      *idea*-sh                      saxt-e

CONJ      idea-POSS.3SG              hard-COP.3SG

‘your topic is an interesting subject, but the idea is difficult.’

(22) fardâ                      ye                      **meeting-i**                      dâr-am.

tomorrow              INDF                      meeting-INDF                      have-1SG

‘Tomorrow I have a meeting.’

(23) **guardian-i**      ke                      dar      englis                      sâken bash-e

guardian-INDF      COMP                      in      England                      stay      become-3SG

‘A guardian that resides in England.’

(24) man                    hich                    **plan-i**                    na-dâr-am  
 1SG.PRO                    nothing                    plan-DEM                    NEG-have-1SG  
 ‘I have no plan’

(25) **experience-hâ-i**                    dar modre                    **student-hâ-ye**  
 experience-PL-INDF                    in about                    students-PL-EZ  
 moxtalefi                    ke                    dâsht-im  
 different                    COMP                    have.PST.1PL  
 ‘Experiences about different students that we had.’

(26) yeki            az            manâbe?-e            darâmad            dar            englstan **student-hâ-i**  
 one            of            resource-EZ            income            in            England student-PL-INDF  
 hastand ke            az            xârej                    az            keshfar            mi-ay-and  
 cop.3SG COMP from outside            of            country IMPF-come-3PL  
 ‘One of the sources of income in England comes from the students who come from abroad.’

(27) har            **boarding school-i**            **CAS-e**                    xas-e  
 each            boarding school-INDF CAS- EZ            special-EZ  
 xod-esh                    o            dâr-e  
 itself- PRO.3SG                    DDO            have-3SG  
 ‘Each boarding school has their own CAS letter.’

(28) tu ham az **hand luggage-e** man estefâde kon  
 2PRO too from hand luggage-EZ 1PRO benefit do.2sg  
 ‘You also get benefit of my hand luggage.’ ‘You also (can) use my hand luggage.’

(29) **the writer** o be-g-i ke che jury bud-e  
 the writer DDO SUBJ-tell-2SG COMP what type be.PST-3SG.  
 ‘You should mention that how was the writer.’

(30) ye **complication** dêr-e  
 DET complication have-3SG  
 ‘It has a complication.’

(31) ye **meeting** ro bâ madrase-ye Jane dêr-am  
 DET meeting DDO with school-EZ Jane have-1SG  
 ‘I have a meeting with Jane’s school.’

(32) in **business** o zad-and  
 this business DDO hit.PST-3PL  
 ‘They have built this business.’

(33) du-tâ                    **paper-e**                    dige    baz    mi-tun-am    be-nvis-am  
 two-CLF                    paper-EZ                    another again   IMPF-can-1SG   SUBJ-write 1SG  
 ‘I can write another two papers.’

(34) chand-tâ                    **advertisement**                    age    be-zâr-i  
 some-CLF                    advertisement                    if    SUBJ-put-2SG  
 ‘If you put some advertisements’

(35) mi-xâ-m                                    ye    seriye **experience**    anjam                    be-d-am  
 IMPF-want-1SG                    INDF    some    experience    do                    SUBJ-do-1SG  
 ‘I want to get some experience.’

(36) bazi    **nightshift-hâ**                    zendegi-ye    **routine**                    o  
 some    nightshift-PL                    life-EZ                    routine                    DDO  
 az    dast                    mi-d-e  
 from    hand                    IMPF-give-3SG  
 ‘Nightshifts take your life routine away.’

(37) ye                    seriye **complex-hâ-iy**                    dâr-e                    bâ    yânun-e Iran  
 DET    some    complex-PL-INDF                    have-3SG                    with    law-EZ Iran  
 ‘There are some complexities with Iranian rules.’



(38) az            **introduction**            shoru?            na-kon  
          from    introduction            start            neg-do 2sg  
          ‘Do not start from the introduction.’

(39) maʔmulan        ruye            **speaking**        talâsh        na-dar-and  
          usually        on            speaking        effort        NEG-have-3PL  
          ‘They do not usually put effort on speaking.’

(40) dar morede        **progress-e**    bache-hâ-shon        soʔâl        mi-kard-and  
          in about        progress-EZ    kid-PL-PRO.POSS.3PL    question    IMPF-do-3PL  
          ‘They were talking about their children’s progress.’

(41) vali        be swrate        **detail**    na  
          but        in way        detail    NEG  
          ‘But not in detail.’

(42) **business-e**        xodam-e  
          business-EZ        myself-COP.1SG  
          ‘This is my own business.’

(43) **boyfriend**-esh          fardâ          mi-âd.  
 boyfriend-3SG.PRO      tomorrow      IMPF-come.3SG

‘Her boyfriend is coming tomorrow.’

(44) **student**-hâ      chini          o          rusieye          hastand  
 student-PL      chisense      CONJ          rusian          COP.3.PL

‘The students are from China and Russia.’

(45) in          **holiday**-hâ      kar      dast-e-mun          gozâsht-e  
 these      holiday-PL      work      hand-EZ-poss.1PL      put.PST-COP.3SG

‘These holidays have really distracted our minds.’

(Lit. ‘These holidays put a lot of work in our hands.’)

(46) **tea**-et          o          be-xor  
 tea-2SG.PRO      DDO      SUBJ-drink 2SG

‘Drink your tea.’

(47) age          be- xâ- d          **boarding school**-esh          ro          ?avaz          kon-e  
 if          SUBJ-want- 3SG      boarding school-3SG.PRO      DDO      change      do-3SG

‘If s/he wants to change the boarding school.’

(48) ye-seriye      kas-âiy      dâr-im      ke      naqsh-e  
 DET-some      person-PL      have-1PL      COMP      role-EZ  
**local guardian**      o      bâzi      mi-kon-an  
 local guardian      DDO      play      IMPF-do-3PL  
 ‘We have some people who play the role of a local guardian.’

(49) nehayatan      mi-xâ-m      ke      **submit**      kon-am  
 finally      IMPF-want-1SG      COMP      submit      do-1SG  
 ‘I finally want to submit it.’

(50) **cancel**      kard-am      o      be-hesh      goft-am  
 cancel      do.PST-1SG      and      to-3SG.PRO      tell.PST-1SG  
 ke      kâr      dâr-am  
 COMP      work      have-1SG  
 ‘I cancelled and told him that I am busy.’

(51) hame      **miss**      mi-kon-an  
 all      miss      IMPF-do-3PL  
 ‘Everyone misses (someone).’

(52) ye-jur-âiy      **disagree**      bud- am  
 some-sort- PL      disagree      be.PST-1SG  
 ‘I was kind of disagreeing.’

(53) dige      xeily    **exaggerate**-ast              ke    agar    estefade   be- kon- am  
 again    very    exaggerate-COP.3SG    COMP    if    benefit    SUBJ-do-1SG  
 ‘It is exaggerated if I use it more.’

(54) **organise**              kardan-e              essay-hâ-m              xeily    saxt-e  
 organise              to.do-EZ              essay-PL-1SG              very    hard-COP.3SG  
 ‘it is hard to organise my essays.’

(55) hamdigar              o              bâyard              **push**    kon-im  
 each other              DDO    must              push    do-1PL  
 ‘We must push each other (to study)’

(56) bâyard    **focus**              kon-am              ru    in              mozu?i    ke  
 should    focus              do-1SG              on    this    topic              COMP  
 cherâ    Iran              ertefâ?i              na-karde  
 why    Iran              progress              NEG-do. PSTP 3SG  
 ‘I should focus on the area that why Iran has not progressed.’

(57) ba?dan              **catch up**              mi-kon-am              **highlight**-esh  
 later              catch up              IMPF-do-1SG              highlight-POSS.3SG  
 o              ziâd    mohim              nist

DDO          very    important          NEG.3SG

‘I will catch up later, the highlight is not very important.’

(58) lotfan    **ticket-hâ**          ro          **print**    kon

please    ticket-PL          DDO    print    do.2SG

‘Please print the tickets.’

(59)    mi-goft                                  mi-xâ-m          **charge-am**    o          **refund** kon-i

IMPF-say.PST.3SG          IMPF-want-1SG    charge-1SG    DDO    refund    do-2SG

‘He said I want to refund my charge.’ ‘He said if the manager refunded his charge.’

(60) shâyad- am          beshe    ye                                  kuchulu-ham    **funny-e**

maybe -too          become    INDF                                  small-too          funny-COP.3SG

‘Maybe it is also a bit funny.’

(61) vaghty    ziâd          harf    mi-zan-i                                  mi-g-e

when    more    talk    IMPF-hit-2SG                                  IMPF-say-2SG

cheqad                                  **talkative- e**

how much                                  talkative-COP.3SG

‘When you talk more, they say how talkative s/he is.’

- |      |                                |         |       |                    |
|------|--------------------------------|---------|-------|--------------------|
| (62) | barâye                         | mâ      | xeily | <b>important-e</b> |
|      | for                            | 1PL.PRO | very  | important-COP.3SG  |
|      | 'It is very important for us.' |         |       |                    |

- |      |                            |       |                      |
|------|----------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| (63) | yazâ-hâ-sh                 | xeily | <b>delicious-</b> an |
|      | food-PL-POSS.PRO.3SG       | very  | delicious –COP.3PL   |
|      | ‘The foods are delicious.’ |       |                      |

- (64) havâ                  nice-tar-e  
weather                nice-COMP-COP.3SG  
‘The weather is nicer.’

- |      |  |                |      |         |
|------|--|----------------|------|---------|
| (65) | mi-ân  | landan         | o    | mâ      |
|      | IMPF-come-3PL                                    | London         | CONJ | PRO.1PL |
|      | <b>voluntary</b>                                 | shod-im        |      |         |
|      | voluntary  | become.PST.1PL |      |         |
|      | ‘They come to London and we become volunteered.’ |                |      |         |

- |      |   |         |           |             |                 |            |
|------|---|---------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|------------|
| (66) | dar                                     | vâqe?   | hamin-ke  | goft-i      | <b>critical</b> | bud- am    |
|      | in                                      | reality | same-COMP | say.PST.2SG | critical        | be.PST.1SG |
|      | ‘Actually, as you said I was critical.’ |         |           |             |                 |            |

(67) xeily      **interested**-an      ke      yazâ-hâ-ye

very      interested-COP.3PL      COMP      food-PL-EZ

jaded      ro      be-xor-an

new      DDO      SUBJ-eat-3PL

‘They are very interested in eating new foods.’

(68) bishtar      **advanced**- tar      kar      ro      moqâyese      be-kon-am

more      advance-COMPR      work      DDO      compare      SUBJ-do-1SG

‘I compare the work in (a) more advanced (way).’

(69) ye      chiz-i      be-swrât-e      koly

DET.INDF      thing-INDF      to-way-EZ      general

o      **general**      mi-dun-am

CONJ      general      IMPF-know-1SG

‘I know something in general.’

(70) xub      mi-dun-i      dige      bastagi dar-e      **sometimes**

good      IMPF-know-2SG      other      depend have-3SG      sometimes

‘You know well, it depends sometimes.’

(71) man      **already**      unjâ      did-am

1SG.PRO      already      there      see.PST.1SG

dust-â-m      mi-g-an

friend-PL-POSS.1SG IMPF-say-3PL

‘I saw my friends there already said.’

- (72) chizi barnâme rizi kard-am  
something planning do.pst.1sg  
**February** tamâm kon-am neveshtan  
February finish do-1sg writing

‘I have planned to finish writing by February.’

- (73) man **tomorrow** shâm mi- xâ-m  
1SG.PR tomorrow dinner IMPF-want-1SG  
bâ dust-â-m be-ra-m birun  
with friend-PL-1SG.POSS SUBJ-go-1SG out

‘Tomorrow I am going to go out with my friends.’

- (74) bazam dige **Monday** aftabi mi-sh-e  
again again Monday sunny IMPF-become-3SG

‘Again, Monday is becoming sunny.’

- (75) to **already** xeily matlab dâr-i be-nevis-i  
PRO.2SG already very topic have-1SG SUBJ-write-2SG

‘You already have loads of topics to write.’



(76) havâ                    **already**                    sard-e                    dust    dar-am  
 weather                    already                    cold-COP.3SG                    like    have-1SG  
 ye-chiz-e                    **warm**                    be-khor-am  
 INDF-thing-EZ    warm                    subj-EAT-1SG  
 ‘The weather already is cold, I like to have (eat) something warm.’

(77) **already**                    chehar                    hezar                    loyat    dâr-am  
 already                    four                    thousand                    word    have-1sg  
 ‘Already I have four thousand words.’

(78) hame    raft-and                    **already!**  
 all    leave.pst-3pl                    already  
 ‘everyone left already!’

(79) ye juraiy                    are    **exactly**  
 somehow                    yes    exactly  
 ‘somehow yes, exactly.’

(80) **basically**                    in    mi-xâd                    **gym**    be-zan-e  
 basically                    this    IMPF-want                    gym    SUBJ-hit-3SG  
 ‘Basically, he wants to set up a gym.’

(81) **inquiry**            **really**            farq            dar-e  
inquiry            really            different            have-3sg  
‘The inquiry is really different.’

(82) man            hich            **plan-i**            na-dâr-am  
1SG.PRO            nothing            plan-DEM            NEG-have-1SG  
‘I have no plan.’

(83) ye            chizi            ke            **rice**            dâshte            bâshe  
DET            thing            COMP            rice            have            do.3SG  
‘something that comes with rice’

(84) Georgia            ham            be-hem            goft  
Georgia            also            to-1SG.PRO            say.PST.3SG  
**meeting-i**            ke            dâsht-im  
meeting-DEM            COMP            have.PST.3PL  
‘Georgia told me about the meeting we had.’

(85) be            qole            xodeshun            **freedom**            na-dâr-an  
to            speech            themselves            freedom            NEG.have-3PL  
‘They say they do not have freedom.’

(87)	xâhar-am	<b>missed</b>	karde	man	o
	sister-poss.1sg	missed	do.pst.3sg	pro.1sg	ddo
	‘My sister missed me.’				

(89) un            xune            ro     **paint**            kon-im  
              that          hous            DDO   paint            do-1PL  
  
              ‘We paint that house.’

(90)	baraye	man	<b>base-eshan</b>	in-e
	For	PRO.1SG	base-POSS.3PL	this-COP.3PL
	ke	bayad	<b>focus</b>	kon-am
	COMP	should	focus	do-1SG
	‘For me, I need to focus on their bases’			

(91) mi-â-i                      in        o        bâham        **share** kon-im  
 IMPF-come-2SG              this     DDO     together        share   do-1PL  
 ‘Let’s share this together.’

(92) dar vâqe?        **critical**              bud-am        xeili  
 in fact              critical              COP-1SG        very  
 ‘I was very critical indeed.’

(93) xeily     shluy   bud              **short staffed**              dasht-im  
 very     busy   COP.3SG              short staffed              have.PST-1SG  
 ‘It was very busy, we were short staffed.’

(94) to                      hamishe        busy   **busy**              mi-kon-i  
 PRO.2SG              always        busy   busy              IMPF-do-2SG  
 ‘You are **always** busy.’

(95) **starter**   chi        dêr-e  
 starter   what   have-COP.3SG  
 ‘What they have for starter’

(96) **honey**   chi        mi-xâ-i                      be-xor-i  
 honey   what   IMPF-want-2SG              SUBJ-eat-2SG  
 ‘Honey, what do you want to eat?’

(97) dige     **diet**     farâmush     kon  
then     diet     forget     do.2SG  
'Forget about diet then.'

(98) xub     alân     **main course**     ro     chi     shod?  
well     now     main course     DDO     what     become?  
'Well, what about the main course now?'

(99) **Yoghurt**-hâ-sh     xeili     xoshmaza-s  
Yoghurt-pl-poss.3sg     very     delicious-cop.3sg  
'Their yoghurt is very delicious.'

(100) in     **tissue**     ro     be-gir  
dem     tissue     ddo     subj-take.2sg  
'Take this tissue.'

(101) hatman     **revise** niâz     dêr-e  
certainly     revise     need     have-3sg  
'It certainly need revising.'

(102) dar mored-e     feminism, **women-e**  
in about-ez     feminism, women-cop.3sg  
'It is about feminism, women.'

(103) hâla      **argument-e**   man                      in-e                      ke      zan-â-ye  
 now      argument-ez   pro.1sg                      this-cop.3sg   comp   woman-pl-ez  
 Kobane to-ye   feminist-â   hamishe                      mi-g-an                      zan  
 Kobane in-ez   feminist-pl   always                      impf-say-3pl   woman  
 na-bâyad                      be-r-e                      **work**   o                      **soldiery**                      kon-e  
 neg-should                      subj-go-3sg   work   conj   soldiery                      do-3sg  
 ‘my argument is about women in Kobane because among feminists they  
 always say that women should no go to work and soldiery.’

(104) mi-xâ-m                      ye-jur-â-iy                      **argue**                      kon-am                      ke  
 impf-want-1sg   some-how-pl-indf   argue                      do-1sg                      comp  
 Kobane                      xeily                      tafavot-e  
 Kobane                      very                      different-cop.3sg  
 ‘I somehow want to argue that Kobane is different.’

(105) alân      faqat   ye      **board-i**                      dâr-am  
 now      only   indf   board-indf   have-1sg  
 ‘For now I only have a board.’

(106) dar mord-e      **maritime industry-e**   Iran-e  
 in about-ez                      maritime industry-ez   Iran-cop.3sg  
 ‘It is about Iran’s maritime indestry.’

(107) dar mord-e      ye **commission**-e      ke      Iran      cherâ      in  
in about-ez      indf      commission-ez      comp      iran      why      this  
**commission** ro ?alâf na-kard-e  
commission      ddo      free      neg-do-cop.3sg  
‘It is about a commission in a way that why iran has not freed this commission yet.’

(108) dar mord-e      **Rotterdam commission**-e,      in      **commission**  
in about-ez      Rotterdam comission-cop.3sg      dem      commission  
cherâ      tu      Iran      ertefâ?-iy      na-shod-e  
why      in      Iran      develop-indf      neg-become-cop.3sg  
‘It is about Rotterdam commission and why this commission has not developed in Iran.’

(109) mi-she      be-g-i      **Rotterdam commission**      chy-e?  
impf-can      subj-say-2sg      Rotterdam commission      what-cop.3sg?  
‘Can you tell me what Rotterdam commission is?’

(110) tu      unja      **argue**      mi-kon-i?  
Pro.2sg      there      argue      impf-do.2sg  
‘You make an argument in there.’

(111) ye      **reservation**      dâr-e  
indef      reservation      have-3sg  
‘It has a reservation.’

(112) chand tâ            **article** hast  
                               some clf            article cop.3sg  
                               ‘There are few articles.’

(113) **overlap**            mi-kon-e            ba            qanun-e            Iran  
                               overlap            impf-do-3sg    with    law-ez            Iran  
                               ‘It overlaps with the law of Iran.’

(114) man            **introduction**    ro            ejrâ            mi-kon-am  
                               pro.1sg introduction    ddo    perform            impf-do-1sg  
                               ‘I do the introduction.’

(115) baʔd-esh            bâyard            dar morde            **Rotterdam commission**  
                               after-3sg            should            in about            Rotterdam commission  
                               indf            literature history            subj-write-2sg  
                               ye            **literature history**            be-nevis-i  
                               ‘After that, you should write a history background about Rotterdam  
                               commission.’

(116) man            mi-xâ-m            be-dun-am            ke            **title**            bâ  
                               pro.1sg impf-want-1sg            subj-know-1sg            comp title            with  
                               **background**            bâsh-e  
                               background            become-3sg  
                               ‘I want to know how do the title and the background.’



(117) esm-e            **title-e**            chi-ye?  
                  name-ez            title-ez            what-cop.3sg?  
                  ‘What is the name of the title?’

(118) mâ            **title**            bâyad            ziâd            be-zan-im  
                  pro.1pl   title            should            more            subj-hit-1pl  
                  ‘We should give more titles.’

(119) tu            aval-esh            ye            **history**, ye            **background**            bâyad            be-nevis-i  
                  in            first-poss.3sg            indf            history, indf            background            should            subj-write-2sg  
                  ‘You should write a history and a background at the beginning.’

(120) in            Rotterdam            vase            in            umad-an            Iran            ke  
                  dem            rotterdam            for            dem            come-3pl            Iran            comp  
                  dar            vaqe?            **supplement**            kon-e  
                  in            fact            suplament            do-3sg  
                  ‘This Rotterdam came to Iran so that in fact Iran supplements.’

(121) cherâ            ertefâ?-i            na-kard-e            in            **consequence-hâ-i**            râ  
                  why            develep-indf            neg-do-cop.3sg            dem            concequence-pl-indf            ddo  
                  ‘Why these concequences have not developed.’

(122) ?elat-esh                      **overlaps-hâ-st**

reason-poss.3sg              overlap-pl-cop

‘His reason is the overlaps.’

(123) man      qablan              dar morde      **commission**      nevesht-am

pro.1sg   before              in about              commission      write.pst-1sg

‘I have written about commission before.’

(124) be              xâtere **overlap**-esh              be      qanune              eslami-ye

for              reason overlap-poss.3sg      to      law              Islamic-cop.3sg

‘It is because its overlaps to Islamic law.’

(125) islamic bi?      bâ      bi?      **international** ye      **complex-hâ-iy** dâr-e

islamic   sale      with      sale      international      indf      complex-pl have-3sg

‘There are some complexity between Islamic sale and international sale.’

(126) dar              hâl-e              hamin **subject**              vali      bâ      in      farq

in              about-ez              same      subject              but      with      this      difference

dâr-e              ke      un      **2000**      bud              vali      in      yeki

have-3sg              comp      that      2000      pst.cop.3sg      but      this      one

**5000**      **words-e**

5000      words-cop-3sg

‘It is almost same as this subject but the difference in that one was 2000 words and this one is 5000 words.’

(127) mi-tun-i            az        hame-ye        **source**-hâ-ye  
               impf-can-2sg   from   all-ez            source-pl-ez  
               un                estefâde        kon-i  
               pro.3sg            use        do-2sg  
               ‘You can use all his sources.’

(128) ye jaiy            be-ri-m            o        **force**    kon-im            xod-emun  
               somehow        subj-go-1pl    conj    force    do-1pl            self-1pl  
               ‘We should somehow to push ourselves.’

(129) man        hama-sh        dar        hal-e            **panic**-am  
               pro.1sg   all-3sg            in        think-ez        panic-1sg  
               ‘I have a panic.’

(130) are        dige        **subject**-am    in-e  
               yes        well        subject-1sg    this-cop.3sg  
               ‘yes, well, this is my subject.’

(131) **subject**-am        râjeb-e            **arbitration**-e  
               subject-1sg        about-ez            attribution-e  
               My topic is about attribution.

(132) **Sunday**            be-r-im            London  
               Sunday            subj-go-1pl        London  
               ‘let’s go to London on Sunday.’

(133) Yek-ishan      kâr-ye      va      yak-i      ham    **voluntary**  
 One-3pl      work-cop.3sg conj    one-indf      too    voluntary  
 ‘One of them is for work and the other is also voluntary.’

(134) az      shahr-hâ-ye    dige    mi-ân      london  
 from    city-pl-ez      other    impf-come-3pl      London  
 o      **accommodate**      mi-kon-an  
 conj    accommodate      impf-do-3pl  
 ‘They are coming to London from the other cities and accommodate there.’

(135) **voluntary**      shod-im      ke      un      xun-e      ro      ham  
 voluntary      become-1pl    comp    dem    house-ez      ddo    too  
**paint**    kon-im      ham    tamiz  
 paint    do-1pl      too    clean  
 ‘We became voluntary to paint and clean that house.’

(136) **sister**-am      xeily    del-esh      ba râm    tang      shod-e  
 sister-1sg      very    heart-poss.3sg    for me    narrow      become-3sg  
 ‘My sister has missed me so much.’

(137) emruz      mi-xâst-am      video baraye    xâhar-am  
 today    impf-want.pst-1sg    video    for    sister-1sg  
 be-ferest-am    aslan    **send**    na-mi-shod

subj-send-1sg at all send neg-impf-become

Today I wanted to send a video to my sister but it was not sent at all.

(138) man **through** telegram aks-hâ ro ferestad-am

pro.1sg through telegraam photo-pl ddo send.pst-1sg

I sent the photos through telegram.

(139) u be man **text** dâd

pro.2sg to pro.1sg text give.pst.3sg

‘She texted me.’

(140) goft **model-e** man sho farda

say.pst.3sg model-ez pro.1sg become tomorrow

‘She asked me to be her model for tomorrow.’

(141) mi-tun-i **scarf-et** sar-et be-kon-i

impf-can-2sg scarf-poss.2sg head-poss.2sg subj-do-2sg

‘You can wear your scarf.’

(142) mi-tun-i in chiz o dast-et be-gir conj

impf-can-2sg dem thing subj hand-poss.2sg subj-take o

**scarf** be-push-i

scarf subj-wear-2sg

‘You can hold these things in your hand and wear a scarf.’

(143) **the** rusary behtar-e  
the scarf better-cop.3sg  
‘The scarf is better.’

(144) baʔd-esh be-r-im **dinner**  
later-3sg subj-go-1pl dinner  
After we go for dinner.

(145) tu tâbeston masalan **June** o un-â-m xeili xub-e  
in summer like June conj that-pl-too very good-cop.3g  
‘In summer like June and so on is very good.’

(146) age **luggage-e** ziâd na-dâr-i easyjet xub-e  
if luggage-ez extra neg-have-2sg easyjet good-cop.3sg  
‘If you do not have extra luggage, Easyjet is good.’

(147) **idea** na-dâr-am xub-e ya na  
idea neg-have-1sg good-cop.3sg or neg  
‘I have no idea if it is good or not.’

(148) **trip** barâye espanya, dar nehâyat bâyard be-r-im Tenerife  
trip for Spain in end should subj-go-1pl Tenerife  
‘regarding the trip to Spain, we should go to Tenerife at the end.’

(149) tu        yek-i        az        **program-hâ-iy**        ke        hast-esh  
          in        one-indf        in        program-pl-indf        comp    cop-3sg  
          **critics**    kon-i        aslan        **review**        kon-i  
          critics    do-2sg        in fact        review        do-2sg

‘You should criticise one of the programs that they have even to review it.’

(150) ye        barnâme-iy        to        BBC    bud        ke  
          indf        program-pl-indf        in        BBC    pst.cop.3sg    comp  
          **critical review**        bâ-yad        be-nevis-i  
          critical review        should        subj-write-2sg

There were programs on BBC to show how to write a critical review.

(151) man        **inquiry**        ro        to        **iPlayer**        did-am        chunke  
          pro.1sg    inquiry        ddo    in        iPlayer        see.pst-1sg    because  
          dar        hâlat-e        ?âdi        na-mi-tun-am **live**    be-bin-am  
          in        time-ez        normal        neg-can-1sg    live    subj-see-1sg

‘I watched inquiry in iPlayer otherwise I cannot watch it.’

(152) ba?        raft-am        **search**        be-kon-am        o        be-bin-am  
          later        go.pst-1sg        search        subj-do-1sg    conj    subj-see-1sg  
          **critical review**        che    juri-e  
          critical    review        what    type-cop.3sg

‘Later I went to search to see how to make a critical review.’

(153) ye	dune	<b>critical review</b>	nevesht-am
	indf	one critical review	write-pst.1sg
		'I wrote a critical review.'	

(154) ru-ye      ye      dune   **article**      nevesht-am  
          on-ez    indf    one    article      write.pst-1sg  
          ‘I wrote on an article.’

(155) che        chiz-hâ-iy        **publish**        kard-e  
               what        thing-pl-indf    publish        do-3sg  
               ‘What has he published?’

(156) chand-tâ	<b>article</b>	dâr-e
how many-clf	article	have-3sg
‘How many articles does he have?’		

(157) <b>two</b>	maqale	nevesht-am	mah-e	pish
two	article	write.pst-1sg	month-ez	before
'I wrote two articles last month.'				

(158) **inquiry**            xeily    farq    dâr-e  
                  inquiry            very    differ    have-cop.3sg  
                  ‘Inquiry is very different.’



(159) tu            **introduction**-am      tozih            dâd-am            dar morde **writer**  
          in            introduction-too            explain            give.pst-1sg    in about    writer  
          ‘I explained about the writer in the introduction.’

(160) baʔd-esh            tu-ye            **main body**-am            umad-am  
          after-3sg            in-ez            main body-too            come.pst-1sg  
          hamun    ke            goft-i            **critical**            bud-am            xeily  
          same    comp    say.pst-2sg    critical            cop.pst.1sg    very  
          ‘Then in the main body I was quite critical.’

(161) **advantage**-hâ-sh            o            bâyad            be-nevis-i  
          advantage-pl-poss.3sg    ddo            should            subj-write-2sg  
          ‘You should write its advantages.’

(162) un-hâ-iy            ke            moxalef-i            **disadvantage**-hâ-sh  
          that-pl-indf            comp    disagree-cop.2sg            advantage-pl-poss.3sg  
          ro            mi-nevis-i  
          ddo            impf-write-2sg  
          ‘You write the disadvantages of those bits you disagree with.’

(163) tu-ye            **conclusion**-am    nazar-e            xodet            o            mi-g-i  
          in-ez            conclusion-too    opinion            yourself            ddo            impf-say-2sg  
          ‘You mention your opinion in the conclusion.’

(164) in        **article** ye        **article-e**        xeily    xub-i-e  
               dem        article    indf        article-ez        very    good-indf-cop.3sg  
               ‘This article is a good article.’

(165) in        **writer**                xeily    **popular-e**        va        xeily    **famous-e**  
               dem        writer                very    popular-ez        conj    very    famous-ez  
               tu        reshte-ye        man  
               in        subject-ez        pro.1sg  
               ‘This writer is very popular and very famous in my subject.’

(166) baʔd        nazar-e                xodet        o        tu-ye **conclusion**        be-g-i  
               then        opinion-ez        yourself    ddo    in-ez    conclusion        subj-say-2sg  
               ke        bishtar dar vaqeʔ        **disagree**        hast-i        o        **like this**  
               comp    more    in fact                disagree        cop.2sg        conj    like this  
               ‘Then in the conclusion you mention your opinion to say if disagree or like this.’

(167) age        be-tun-i                **interview-et**                mi-kon-an  
               if        subj-can-2sg    interview-2sg                impf-do-2sg  
               ‘if you can they will interview you.’

(168) **this interview**    braye    man                xeili    mohem-e  
               this interview    for        pro.1sg                very    important-e  
               ‘This interview is very important for me.’

(169) man      mi-tun-am      barâye in      **apply**      kon-am  
 pro.1sg   impf-can-1sg   for      dem      apply      do-1sg  
 I can apply for this.

(170) **deadline**-esh      key-e?  
 deadline-poss.3sg      when-cop.3sg?  
 ‘when is the deadline?’

(171) yek      **internship**-e      dige ham      hast      ke      Cambridge-e  
 indf      internship-ez      another also      cop.3sg      that      Cambridge-cop.3sg  
 ‘There is another internship in Cambridge.’

(172) un      dige      saxt-tar-e      chun      **assistanceship**-e  
 dem      even      hard-supr-cop.3sg      because      assistanceship-cop.3sg  
 ‘The other one is even harder because it is an assistanship.’

(173) **assistantship**      xeily      saxt-e  
 assistantship      very      hard-cop.3sg  
 ‘Assistantship is very hard.’

(174) shâyad      barâye      un-ham      **apply**      kon-am  
 maybe      for      that-too      apply      do.1sg  
 ‘I might apply for that one too.’

(175) xodet                      ro            **support**            mi-kon-i  
    yourself            ddo            support            impf-do-2sg  
    'You support yourself.'

(176) tu            **website-e**            dânesghâ            mi-tun-am            **search**            kon-am  
    in            website-ez            university            impf-can-1sg            search            do-1sg  
    I can search on the Univeristy's website.

(177) in-am                      xub-e                      ke            masalan            be            **assistantship**  
    dem-too                      good-cop.3sg            that            like                      to            assistantship  
    o            **internship**            be-r-im  
    conj            internship            subj-go-1pl  
    'This is also good to go to another assistantship and internship.'

(178) in            chiz-hâ            barâye mâ                      **experience**            mi-sh-e  
    dem            thing-pl            for            pro.1pl            experience            impf-become-3sg  
    'These things become an experience for us.'

(179) be-r-im                      Arundel            **ticket-am**                      **expire** mi-sh-e  
    subj-go-1pl            Arundel            ticket-poss.1sg            expire            impf-become-3sg  
    'Let's go to Arundel, my ticket gets expired.'

(180) man goft-am **share** kon-am bâ ye nafar  
 pro.1sg say.pst-1sg share do-1sg with indf someone  
 ‘I told myself to share the ticket with someone.’

(181) belit ro masalan **share** kon-im  
 ticket ddo like share do-1pl  
 ‘Like to share the ticket.’

(182) ye jur-â-iy **share** mi-kon-im bâ ham  
 indf-type-pl-indf share impf-do-1pl with each other  
 ‘Somehow to share the ticket with each other.’

(183) bâ **math-et** chekâr kard-id?  
 with math-poss.2sg what do.pst-2sg  
 ‘What did you do with your math.’

(184) mi-xâ-i komak-et kon-am barâye **math-et**?  
 impf-want-2sg help-3sg do-1sg for math-poss.2sg  
 ‘Do you want me to help you with your math?’

(185) bâ **teacher-et** harf be-zan  
 with teacher-pos.2sg speak subj-hit.2sg  
 ‘Speak with your teacher.’

(186) dar morde        **science-et**        chy?  
in about        science-poss.2sg        what ?  
‘What about your math ?’

(187) man        hamishe        **cancel**        mi-kon-am        be        xater-e        tu  
pro.1sg    always        cancel        impf-do-1sg    for        sake-ez    pro.2sg  
ye        ruz-am        tu        barnâme-t        ro        **cancel** kon  
one        day- too        pro.2sg    schedule-poss.2sg    ddo        cancel do.2sg  
‘I always cancel my schedules and you also cancel your for me one time.’

(188) aval        mi-r-im        **shopping**  
first        impf-go-1pl    shopping  
‘We first go shopping.’

(189) bas-e        dige        **holiday**  
enough-cop.3sg    further        holiday  
‘It is enough to have more holidays.’

(190) xeily        ziâd        dêr-im        **holiday**        mi-r-im  
very        much    have-1pl        holiday        impf-go-1pl  
We are going on holidays too much.

(191) xeily        arzun    gereft-im        qeimat-e        **flight** o        inâ  
very        cheap    take.pst-1pl    price-ez        flisght conj    these  
We got the flight tickets very cheap.

(192) **manager**-am                    mard    ro    birun                    kard    az    bank  
**manager**-poss.1sg    man    ddo    outside                    do.pst from    bank  
 My maneger sent out the man from the bank.

(193) **manager**-am                    be-hesh                    goft                    du    râh    dêr-e  
 manager-poss.1sg    to-him                    say.pst.3sg    two    way    have-3sg  
 My manager told him that he has two ways.

(194) goft-im    bebaxshid âqa    15 pond    mi-tun-im    **refund**    kon-im  
 say.pst-1pl    sorry    Mr.    15 pounds    impf-can-3pl    refund    do-3pl  
 We said, sorry Mr. We only can refund 15 pounds.

(195) hamun    **central**-e    nazdik-e    **city**  
 same    central-ez    near-ez    city  
 ‘At the central near the city.’

(196) xub    pas    **cover**    dar-e  
 good    so    cover    have-3sg  
 ‘Good, so it has a cover.’

(197) pas    faqat    **drink**    mi-r-i  
 so    only    drink    impf-go-2sg  
 ‘So, you only go for a drink.’

(198) mi-r-im            faqat    **drink**

impf-go-1pl    only    drink

‘We only go for a drink.’

(199) na            chiz    dâr-am            facial-e            micro demibrasion

neg            thing    have-1sg            facial-ez            micro demibarsion

‘I am going to micro demibrasion facial.’

(200) Pas            mâ            be            **europe**            chekâr            kon-im?

so            pro.1pl            to            Europe            what            do-1pl?

‘So what shall we do do wurope?’

(201) gerun            shod-e            **flight**-esh

expensive            become.pst-ez            flight-3sg

‘The flight has become more expensive.’

(202) man            online    **check** kard-am            ye            dâstân-i            bud

pro.1sg    online    check    did-1sg            indf    story-indf            cop.pst.3sg

‘I checked it online it was a chaos.’

(203) az            online            لازم    nist            **check**    kon-id

from            online            need    neg            check    do-2sg

‘It is not necessary to check online.’



(204) az        **airport**        mâ        ro        be-bar-e        hotel  
               from    airport        pro.1pl        ddo    subj-take-3sg hotel  
               ‘To take us from the airport to the hotel.’

(205) age        un-am        bud        **amazing**        bud  
               if        pro.3sh-too    cop.3sg        amazing        cop.3sg  
               ‘It would be amazing if she also was with us.’

(206) Sâyer    o        mi-tun-im    **add**    kon-im        be        **room**-emum  
               Saxer    ddo    impf-can-1pl    add    do-1pl        to        room-poss.1pl  
               We can add Saxer to our room.

(207) zang z    ad-am        be        **company**-iy        ke        **book**    krd-and  
               call        hit-1sg        to        company-indf        comp    book    do-3pl  
               ‘I called the company they booked (the room) from.’

(208) sad        dollar    un        o        **add**    kon-am        be        otaq  
               hundred dollar    pro.3sg        ddo    add    do-1sg        to        room  
               ‘They add her to the room with extra 100 dollars.’

(209) to        ham    ke        hamash        **busy**    mi-kon-i  
               pro.2sg    too        comp    all        busy    impf-do-2sg  
               ‘You always say you are busy.’

(210) alaky                      na-gu                      **busy**

nonsense                      neg-say.2sg                      busy

‘Do not pretend you are busy.’

(211) bichâre                      **bankrupt-et**                      kard-am

poor                      banckrup-2sg                      do.pst-1sg

‘Poor you, I banckrupt you.’

(212) man                      o                      **bankrupt**                      kard-i

pro.1sg                      ddo                      bankrupt                      do.2sg

‘You bankrupted me.’

(213) **module-e**                      **number 2**                      hamash                      rajeb-e                      **mortgage-e**

**module-ez**                      number 2                      all                      about-ez                      mortgage-cop.3sg

‘The module number 2 is all about mortgage.’

(214) pas                      **weekend-hâ**                      be-khun

so,                      weekend-pl                      subj-study.2sg

‘So, study at the weekends.’

(215) in                      **weekend-hâ**                      sar-am                      xeili                      sholuy-e

det                      weekend-pl                      head-poss.1sg                      very                      busy

‘These weekends I am very busy.’

(216) bâyad in **qualification** o be-gir-am  
 should det qualification ddo subj-get-1sg  
 ‘I need to get this qualification.’

(217) tavalod-esh-e Mandana axer-e **August**  
 birthday-poss.3sg-cop.3sg Mandana end-ez August  
 ‘End of August is Mandana’s birthday.’

(218) Walkie Talkie xub-e ye **option-e** dige-s  
 Walkie talkie good-cop.3sg indf option-ez another-cop.3sg  
 ‘Walkie Talkie is good, it is another option.’

(219) **recommend** kard-and be hem  
 recommend do.pst.3pl to each other  
 ‘They recommended it to each other.’

(220) az in-ke mi-â-d dar-e xeili **convenient-e**  
 from this-that impf-come-3sg have-3sg very convinient-cop.3sg  
 ‘Since she comes it is very convinient.’

(221) motmaen na-bud-am ke jâ-ye **safe-e**  
 ensure neg-cop.pst-1sg comp place-ez safe-cop.3sg  
 ‘I was not sure it was a safe place.’

(222) man      dust      dêr-am      be-ra-m      **Egypt**

pro.1sg like      have-1sg      subj-go-1sg      Egypt

‘I like to go to Egypt.’

(223) ey      xodâ      man      **Egypt**      raft-am      I didn’t like it

oh      god      pro.1sg      Egypt      go.pst-1psg      I didn’t like it

‘Oh God, I have been to Egypt, I didn’t like it.’

(224) shomâ      raft-i      **pyramids?**

Pro.2sg      go-2sg      pyramids?

‘Have you been to Pyramids?’

(225) **Pyramids**      o      Mermaid      alân      baste-s

Pyramids      conj      Mermaid      now      close-cop.3pl

‘Now pyramids and Mermaids are closed.’

(226) **Egypt**      jây-e      raftan-e?

**Egypt**      place-ez      going-cop.3sg

‘Is Egypt a place to go?’

(227) **Palm**      nazdik-esh-e

Palm      close-3sg-cop.3sg

‘Palm is close to it.’

(228) ru un **palm**-e-ast  
 on that palm-def-cop3.sg  
 ‘It is on that Palm.’

(229) zang zad-am be **company**  
 call hit-1sg to company  
 ‘I called the company.’

(230) **effective**-e barâye man  
 effective-cop.3sg for pro.1sg  
 ‘It is effective for me.’

(231) man-am LA fitness **join** kard-am  
 pro.1sg-too LA fitness join do-1sg  
 I also joined LA fitness.

(232) **trainer**-e na  
**trainer**-def neg  
 ‘not the trainer’

(233) un-i ke barâye in kar kard-e **divorce** kard-e  
 dem.indf relpro for this work do-pst divorce do.pst-cop.3sg  
 ‘The person who worked for him has divorced.’

(234) in-â      osulan      ahle      **divorce**      nist-an  
 dem-pl   usually      type      divorce      neg-cop.3pl

They are usually not the type (of people) to divorce.

(235) pas      man      **tomorrow**      be      dust-am  
 so      pro.1sg      tomorrow      to      friend-poss.1sg  
 mi-g-am      unjâ-hâ      na-r-im  
 impf-say-1sg      there-pl      neg-go-1pl

‘So, tomorrow I will tell my friend to not go to those places.’

(236) unjâ      bedard      na-mi-xor-e      **public** por-e      **pervert-e**  
 there      useful      neg-impf-eat-3sg      public full-ez      pervert-cop.3pl

‘There is not good, it is public and full of perverts.’

(237) **shop-e**      mâ      tu-ye      **Churchill road-e**  
 shop-ez      pro.1pl      in-ez      Churchill road-cop.3sg

‘Our shop is located in Churchill road.’

(238) **food-hâ-ye**      Irani      dâr-im  
 food-pl-ez      Irani      have-1pl

We have iranian foods.

(239) **busy**    hast-in?

busy    cop-pl

‘Are you busy (the restaurant)’

(240) **busy**    hast-im            bishtar            **weekend**-hâ            **busy**    hast-im

busy    cop-3pl            more            weekend-pl            busy    cop-1pl

We are busy particularly in the weekends.

(241) **regular customer**            dâr-in?

regular customer            have-2pl

‘Do you have regular customer?’

(242) **regular customer**-am dar-im

regular customer-too    have-1pl

‘we also have regular customer.’

(243) **like**            mi-kon-an            yazâ-hâ-mun

like            impf-do-3pl    food-pl-poss.1pl

They like our foods.

(244) baʔzi    vaqt-hâ            **explain**            mi-kon-an

some    time-pl            explain            impf-do-3pl

‘They sometimes explain.’

(245) are, **explain** bâyard be-kon-im

yes, explain      should      subj-do-1pl

‘Yes, we should explain (to them).’

(246) dust      dêr-i      **business-e**      xod-et      o      dâshte-bash-i?

like      have-2sg      business-ez      yourself-2sg      ddo      have-2sg?

‘Would you like to have your own business?’

(247) injâ      **business-e**      xod-am-e

here      business-ez      myself-cop.3sg

‘This is my own business.’

(248) **manager-am**      injâ

manager-poss.1sg      here

I am manager here.’

(249) ba      **customar-ha**      sohbat      mi-kon-i?

with      customer-pl      talk      impf-do-2sg

‘Do you speak to the customers?’

(250) **business**      saxt-e      tanhâ-iy

business      hard-cop.3sg      alone-indf

‘It is hard (to run) a business alone.’



(251) **shop** o restaurant-e Irani saxt-e  
shop conj restaurant-ez Irani hard-cop.3sg  
‘Iranian shops and restaurants are hard (to run).’

(252) zenjira-iy mi-tun-e bash-e vali kargar-hâ-ye xub  
chain-infd impf-can-3sg become-3sg conj worker-pl-ez good  
paydâ kon-i ke be-tun-an **run** kon-an **business** ro  
find do-2sg comp subj-can-3pl run do-3pl business ddo  
‘Chain (restaurants) is good but you need to find good workers (waiters and waitress) to run the business wel.’

(253) bâ **customer-et** sâxt-e?  
with customer-poss.2sg make-2sg  
‘have you got along with your customers?’

(254) **business-e** xod-et-e  
business-ez yourself-poss.2sg-cop.2sg  
‘It is your business.’

(255) bud-e ke **complain** kon-an râjeb-e yazâ?  
cop.pst-3sg comp complain do-3pl about-ez food  
‘Has happened someone explain about the food?’

(256) man na-bud-am **complain** kard-an  
pro.1sg neg-cop.pst-1sg complain do.pst-3pl  
‘When I haven’t been here, (people) have complained

(257) man      xod-am      **complain**      kard-am râjeb-e      **time-esh**  
 pro.1sg self-1sg      complain      do-1sg about-ez      time-poss.3sg  
 ‘I have complained about the time.’

(258) **that menu**      bed-e      be      man  
 that menu      give-2sg      to      pro.1sg  
 ‘Give me that menu.’

(259) **starter** ro,      ma      chahâr no?      safâresh      dad-im  
 starter ddo      pro.1pl      four      type      order      give.pst-1pl  
 We ordered four types of starter.

(260) b?d      ye      **starter-e**      dige      avord-an  
 then      indf      starter-ez      another      bring.pst-3pl  
 Then they brought another starter.

(261) goft-am ke dige na-mish-e **starter** yazâ **starter**  
 say.pst-1sg      comp      anymore      neg-become-ez      starter      food      starter  
 I said to them it can not anymore be starter food starter

(262) **complain**      kard-am      bâ      xeily      jâ-hâ  
 complain      do.pst-1sg      with      many      place-pl  
 ‘I have complained in many places.’

(263) **atmosphere** xub-i-e

atmosphere good-indf-cop.3sg

‘The atmosphere is good’

(264) **atmosphere**-esh ham xub-e

atmosphere-poss.3sg too good-cop.3sg

‘The atmosphere is also good.’

(265) **staff**-emân xeily xub-e

staff-3pl very good-cop.3sg

‘Our staff is very good.’

(266) **staff** xeily moaser-e

staff very effective-cop.3sg

‘Staff is very effective.’

(267) **staff**-etun **very** xub-an

staff-2pl very xub-2pl

‘Your staff is very good.’

(268) bâ **customer**-i ke mi-â-d xeily xub

with customar-indef comp impf-come-2sg very good

barxord mi-kon-e

contact impf-do-3sg

‘Do you have a good contact with the customers.’

(269) mardom unjâ xeily **friendly**-an

people there very friendly-cop.3pl

‘People are very friendly there.’

(270) mish-e **dâddy**-t?

Become-3sg daddy-poss.2sg

‘become your daddy.’

(271) âre, mish-e **daddy**-m

yes become daddy-poss.1sg

‘yes, he is become my daddy.’

(272) **university** na-mi-dun-am

university neg-impf-know-1sg

‘I don’t know about university’

(273) xod-esh mi-g-e mi-xâ-m **medicine** be-xun-am

self-3sg impf-say-3sg impf-want-1sg medicine subj-study-1sg

‘She says she wants to study medicine.’

(274) **business management** bud

business management cop.3sg

‘It was business management.’

(275) man      bishtar **push-esh**      mi-d-am      **medicine**      be-xun-e  
 pro.1sg more push-3sg impf-go-3sg medicine subj-study-3sg  
 ‘I push her to study medicine.’

(276) **medicine**      xeili      xub-e  
 medicine      very      good-cop.3sg  
 ‘Medicine is very good.’

(277) **dentistry**      mi-sh-e      **5-6 years**  
 dentistry      impf-become-3sg      5-6 years  
 ‘Dentistry is 5-6 years.’

(278) age      pezeshk      ?omumi      be-sh-e      **future-esh**      o  
 if      doctor      public      subj-become-3sg      future-poss.3sg      ddo  
**guaranty**      mi-kon-e  
 quarantine      impf-do-3sg  
 ‘If she becomes general practioner her future will be guaranteed.’

(279) baraye      âyanda-sh      **very mohem-e**  
 for      future-poss.3sg      very mohem-cop.3sg  
 ‘It is important for her future.’

(280) **life-e**      xeili      xub-i      ro      mi-tun-e      dâshte-bash-e  
 life-ez      very      good-indf      ddo      impf-can-3sg      have-2sg  
 ‘She can have a better future.’

(281) man      xod-am      na-mi-xâ-m      be-re    tu    kêr-e    **nurse**  
 pro.1sg self-1sg      neg-impf-want-1sg    subj-go in    job    nurse  
 ‘I myself do not want her to do nursing.’

(282) **real life-e**      xod-esh      o      az      dast    mi-d-e  
 real life-ez      self-3sg      ddo    from    hand    impf-give-3sg  
 chun    **nightshift**    dêr-e  
 because nightshift      have-3sg  
 ‘She loses her real life because it has nightshifts.’

(283) **nurse-i**      saxt    ast  
 nurse-indf      hard    cop.3sg  
 ‘Nursing is hard.’

(284) man      xod-am      in      **experience**    ro      dêr-am  
 pro.1sg self-1sg      dem    experience    ddo    have-1sg  
 ‘I have this experience.’

(285) **pharmacy**      8 sobh      mi-r-e      6 b?d az zohr bar-mi-gard-e  
 pharmacy      8 morning      impf-go-3sg    6 afternoon    subj-impf-come-3sg  
 ‘Pharmacy, she goes at 8 am and comes back at 6 pm.’

(286) man      **advice-e**      xod-am      o      be-hesh      mi-g-am  
 pro.1sg advice-ez      self-1sg      ddo      subj-her      impf-say-1sg  
 ‘I give her my advice.’

(287) **help-esh**      mi-kon-am  
 help-3sg      impf-do-1sg  
 ‘I will help her.’

(288) baʔzi vaqt-â      mi-g-e      **medicine**      o      dust      dâr-e  
 some time-pl      impf-say-3sg      medicine      ddo      like      have-3sg  
 vali      **math-esh**      zir-e      sefr-e  
 conj      math-poss.3sg      under-ez      zero-cop.3sg  
 ‘sometimes she says she like medicine but her math is not good.’

(289) age      be-xâ-i      **medicine**      be-xun-i      **math-et**  
 if      subj-want-2sg      medicine      subj-study-2sg      math-poss.3sg  
 bâyard      xub      bash-e  
 should      good      cop.3sg  
 ‘If you want to study medicine your math should be good.’

(290) **science** xeili      xub-e      un-vaqt      mi-xâ-d      **nanoscience**  
 science      very      good-cop.3sg      that-time      impf-want-3sg      nanoscience  
 bardâr-e      dige      **math**      na-mi-xâ-d  
 pick-3sg      anymore      math      neg-impf-want-3sg  
 ‘Science is very good then she wants to pick up nanoscience and this does not require math.’

(291) mi-g-an            be-yâ            **view**-ye            injâ    xeily    xub-e  
 impf-say-3pl    subj-come.2sg    view-ez            here    very    good-cop.3sg  
 ‘They say come here the view is very good.’

(292) shâyad            **fashion**            shod-e            unjâ  
 perhaps            fashion            become-cop.3sg            there  
 ‘Perhaps it has become fashion there.’

(293) **fashion**            shod-e            vaqeʔan  
 fashion            become-cop3sg            really  
 ‘It has really become a fashion.’

(294) dust-etun            goft    **that women are talkative**  
 friend-poss.2pl    say.past    that women are talkative  
 ‘Your friend said women are talkative.’

(295) xânom-â            xeily    **talkative**-tar-and  
 woman-pl            xery    talkative-compr-3pl  
 ‘women are more talkative.’

(296) xânom-â-ye            inja    xeily    **talkative**-and    maxsusan            dust-â-ye mâ  
 woman-pl-ez            here    very    talkative-3pl    especially            friend-pl-ez    us  
 ‘Women in here are more talkative especially our friends.’



(297) man      moʔtaqed-am ke      mard-â      bishtar      **talkative**-and  
 pro.1sg   certain-1sg   comp   man-pl      more      talkative-3pl  
 ‘I believe that men are more talkative.’

(298) na-bâyad      **judge**      kard  
 neg-should      judge      do.pst.3sg  
 ‘(we) should not judge.’

(299) **tea**-et o be-xor  
 tea-poss.2sg      ddo      subj-drink.3sg  
 ‘drink your tea.’

(300) **tea**-am      o      be-xor-am,      bâ      chi      be-xor-am?  
 tea-poss.1sg      ddo      subj-drink-1sg      with      what      subj-drink-1sg  
 ‘How to drink my tea?’

(301) bâ      **cubic sugar**      be-xor  
 with      cubic      sugar      subj-drink.2sg  
 ‘Drink it with cubic sugar.’

(302) Aida      **ticket**-e      Yonân      xaride      bud  
 Aida      ticket-ez      Greece      buy.pst      cop.3sg  
 ‘Aida had bought the ticket for Greece.’

(303) be qol-e xod-esh-ân **freedom** na-dâr-an  
 with say-ez self-3pl freedom neg-have-3pl  
 ‘As they say, they don’t have freedom.’

(304) baʔzi vaqt-â **freedom-i** ke na-dâr-an behtar az injâ-st  
 some time-pl freedom-indf comp neg-have-3pl better from here-cop.3sg  
 ‘Sometimes they don’t have freedom is better than here.’

(305) ye **bedroom flat** 200 hazar pond-e  
 indef bedroom flat 200 thousand pound-cop.3sg  
 ‘A bedroom flat is 200 thousand pounds.’

(306) man tu fekr-e **business-am**  
 pro.1sg in think-ez business-1sg  
 ‘I am thinking of a business.’

(307) hamun mal-e **beauty** ro  
 same from-ez beauty ddo  
 ‘The beauty (shop) one.’

(308) **beauty** o in-â age be-xâ-i aval bâyard az  
 beauty conj dem-pl if sub-buy-2sg first should from  
 Portslade shoru? kon-i

Portslade start do-2sg

‘For beauty shops you should first start from Portslade.’

(309) *barâye mâ xeily **important-e** jâ*  
*for pro.1pl very important-co.3sg place*  
‘Place is very important for us.’

(310) **advertisement** *xeily mohem-e*  
*advertisement very important-cop.3sg*  
‘Advertisement is very important

(311) *har **treatment** ye sa?t tul mi-kesh-e*  
*any treatment indf hour long impf-take-3sg*  
‘Any treatment takes an hour.’

(312) *chand-tâ **advertisements** age be-zâr-in tu ruznâme*  
*few-clf advertisement if subj-put-2pl in newspaper*  
*mi-tun-in be-r-in dam-e dar-e xune-hâ-ye mardom*  
*impf-can-2pl subj-go-2pl front-ez door-ez house-pl-ez people*  
‘If you put some advertisement in the newspapers, you can get into people’s house.’

(313) **leazer** *mi-xâ-im be-zan-im*  
*leazer impf-want-1pl subj-hit-1pl*  
We want to have leazer.

(314) chây-t                      o            **cold**    shod-e  
    tea-poss.2sg    ddo    cold    become-cop.3sg  
    ‘Your tea is getting cold.’

(315) dar morde            **guardianship** o            **guardian**            sohbat            kon-im  
    in about            guardianship    conj    guardian            talk            do-1pl  
    ‘Talk about guardianship and guardian.’

(316) etefâqan dar morde            **guardianship**            sohbat            kon-im  
    actually in about            guardianship            talk            do-1pl  
    ‘Actually, let’s talk about guardianship.’

(317) mi-dun-i            ke            **subject-e**            kâr-im            chy-e  
    impf-know-2sg    comp    subject-ez            work-1sg            what-cop.3sg  
    ‘You know what is my work subject.’

(318) mi-dun-am            dar morde            **guardianship** o            **parentship-e**  
    impf-know-1sg in about            guardianship    and    parentship-cop.3sg  
    ‘I know it is about guardianship and parentship.’

(319) na-mi-dun-am            cheqadr            **responsible**            hast-id  
    neg-impf-know-1sg    how much            responsible            cop-2pl  
    ‘I don’t know how much you are responsible.’

(320) in        naqsh-e        **legal-i**        dâr-e  
               dem        role-ez        legal-indf        have-3sg  
               ‘This has a legal role.’

(321) te bq-e        **children act 1989**        tamam-e **student-hâ-ye international**  
               accordin-ez        children act 1989        all-ez        student-pl-ez        international  
               o **EU**        chiz-hâ-ye        zarury        hast-esh        ke        bâ-yad  
               and        EU things-pl-ez        important        cop.3sg        comp        should  
               re?âyât        be-sh-e  
               consider        subj-become-3sg  
               ‘Accordeing to children act 1989 there are things for all international and EU  
               students that should be considered.’

(322) che tu-ye        **boarding school** hast-and        che tu-ye **day school** hast-and  
               whether in-ez        boarding school        cop.3pl        whether in-ez        day school        cop.3pl  
               ?asr-â-shun        bâ        **host family**        mi-gezarun-and  
               afternoon-pl-poss.3pl        with        host family        impf-spend-3pl  
               ‘Whether they are in boarding achool or day school, they spend their  
               afternoons with host family.’

(323) **more** daneshju tarjih mi-d-an        ba **host family** zendegi kon-an  
               more student        prefer-give-3pl        with host family live do-3pl  
               ‘More students prefer to live with host families’

(324) in        bache-hâ        az        nazar-e        qanun-e engelestan  
               dem        kid-pl        from    according-ez    law-ez        England  
               ehtyâj    be        yek        **guardian**        dâr-and  
               need     to        indf     guardian        have-3pl  
               ‘According to the England’s law, these kids need a guardian.’

(325) tamam-e kâr-hâ-iy        ke        yek        **parents**        moqe?-i        ke        dar  
               all-ez     work-pl-indf    comp    indf     parents        when-indf     comp    in  
               englis hast        barâ-sh        anjâm    mi-d-e        bâyard        un  
               England cop.3sg for-3sg        fulfil    impf-do-3sg    should        dem  
               **guardian**        barâ-sh        anjâm    be-d-e  
               guardian        for-3sg        fulfil    impf-do-3sg  
               ‘All the work a parents do (for the kids) when they are in England, that  
               guardian should do the same.’

(326) Mi-tun-e        dar        **parents’ evening**        sherkat        kon-e  
               impf-can-3sg    in        parents’ evening        attend        do-3sg  
               ‘He can attend the parents’ evening’

(327) dar morde        **progress-e**        tahsili-ye        bache-hâ-shun        soal  
               in about        progress-ez        study-ez        kid-pl-poss.3pl        question  
               mi-kard-and  
               impf-do-3pl  
               ‘They were asking questions about the study progress of their kids.’

(328) tu in **parents' evening** be ?onvân-e pedar o mâdar-e  
 in dem parents' evening as t itle-ez father conj mother-ez  
 bache sherkat mi-kon-im  
 kid attend impf-do-1pl  
 'on behalf of their parents we attend those parents' evening.'

(329) masalan man be ?onvân-e **guardian** un bache ro  
 like pro.1sg as title-ez guardian that kid ddo  
**accommodate** mi-kon-am bâ ye **host family**  
 accommodate impf-do-1sg with indf host family  
 'For example, as a guardian I will accommodate that kid with a host family.'

(330) dust-e-man be ?onvân-e **guardian** un bache ro  
 friend-ez-poss.1pl as title guardian that kid ddo  
**accommodate** mi-kon-e bâ ye **host family**  
 accommodate impf-do-3sg with indf host family  
 'Our friend as a guardian accommodate that kid with a host family.'

(331) in **guardianship** vase dolat-e Engelestan  
 dem guardianship for government-ez England  
 ahmyat dêr-e  
 importance have-3sg  
 'This guardianship is important for the England's government (UK).'

(332) ye serye az xânevâde-hâ ro **involve**

indf     some   from   family-pl     ddo   involve  
mi-kon-e tu pul dar-âvordan

(333) be har hâl     **host family**     dâr-im     ke     naqsh-e

to any case     host family     have-1pl     comp   role-ez

**local guardian**     ro     bâzi     mi-kon-an

local guardian     ddo   play   impf-do-3pl

‘Anyway, there are host families that play the role of local guardian.’

(334) xod-etun     ye     **company**     hast-id     ke     **base-etun**     Brighton-e

self-poss.3pl     indf   company   cop.3pl   comp   base-3pl   brighton-cop.3g

vali     ye     dune   bache   hast     tu-ye   Manchester   o

but     indf   one   bache   cop.3sg     in-ez   Manchester   conj

shomâ   **guardian-e**   u     hast-id

pro.3pl   guardian-ez   pro.3sg     cop.3pl

‘You are a company that based in Brighton but there is a kid in Manchester and you are his guardian.’

(335) ehtemâlan     ye     **local guardian**     lâzem dâr-id     ke

probably     indf   local guardian     need   have-2pl     comp

be-tun-e     un     o     **care**   be-kon-e

subj-can     pro.3sg     ddo   care   subj-do-3sg

‘Probably you need a guardian to take care of him.’



(336) **boarding school**-hâ darâmad barâye dolat-e                      Engelestan      dâr-e  
 boarding school-pl   income   for   government-ez   England           have.sg  
 ‘The boarding schools have income for the government of England (UK)’

(337) chi-i                      ke      dar morde      mâli                      mi-gu-i  
 thing-indf                      comp   in about                      financial                      impf-say-2sg  
 dorost-e                      amâ      na dar morde   **guardianship**  
 true-cop.3sg      but      neg in about      guardianship  
 ‘What you say about the financial is true but not the guardianship.’

(338) Yek-i az manabe?-e darâmad dar Engelestan **student**-hâ-iy  
 One-indf                      from   source-ez                      incomein England      student-pl-indf  
 hast-and                      ke      az      xârej                      az      keshvar   mi-â-nd  
 cop-3pl                      comp   from   outside                      from   country   impf-come-3pl  
 ‘One of the source of income in England is the students who come from  
 outside of the country.’

(339) **EU**      kam-tar-e      vali      **international**                      du ya se      barabar  
 EU      less-compr-cop.3sg      but      international      two or three      time  
 pul      mi-d-an      be      **boarding school**-hâ      yan      daneshgâ-hâ  
 money   impf-give-3pl   to      boarding school-pl      or      university-pl  
 ‘EU students less but the international students pay double or triple times to  
 the boarding schools or the universities.’

(340) **already** Engelestan pul-esh ro az daneshju-hâ-iy ke  
 already England money-poss.3sg ddo from student-pl-indf comp  
 barâye **boarding school** mi-â-n dar-mi-âr-e  
 for boarding school impf-come-3pl in-impf-bring-3sg  
 ‘Already England earn its money from the students who go to the boarding school.’

(341) be in dalil taʔrif-i barâye **guardian** na-shod-e  
 for this reason definition-indf for guardian neg-become-cop.3sg  
 ‘For this reason, there is not a definition for guardian.’

(342) **guardian** mi-tun-e yek-i az afrâd-e  
 guardian impf-can-cop.3sg one-indf from person-ez  
**trusted-e** **family** bash-e  
 trusted-ez family become-cop.3sg  
 ‘A guardian can be someone from a trusted family.’

(343) bach-at to-ye **boarding school** dars mi-xun-e  
 kid-poss.2sg in-ez boarding school lesson impf-study-3sg  
 ‘Your kid studies in a boarding school.’

(344) shomâ be ʔonvân-e pedar yek **authorization letter** mi-d-id  
 pro.2pl as title-ez father indf authorization letter impf-give-2pl  
 ‘You as a father give an authorization letter.’

(345) yek-i                      az        dust-an-e        man                      be ?onvân-e    **guardian**  
    one-indf                      from    friend-pl-ez    pro.1pl                      as title-ez        guardian  
    bache-ye                      man                      ro        **allocate**                      mi-kon-e  
    kid-ez                      pro.1sg                      ddo        allocate                      impf-do-3sg  
    ‘One of my friends as a guardian allocate my kid.’

(346) in                      **guardian**                      az        bache    morâqebat        mi-kon-e  
    det        guardian                      from    kid        watch                      impf-do-3sg  
    ‘This guardian looks after the kid.’

(347) pul-e                      bishtar-i                      ke        Englis                      az        un        **student**  
    money-ez                      more-indf                      comp    England                      from    det        student  
    dar-mi-âr-e                      bâbat-e                      **tuition fee-e**                      ke        be  
    in-impf-bring-3sg                      about-ez                      tuition fee-cop.3sg                      comp    to  
    **boarding school**                      mi-d-e  
    boarding school                      impf-give-3sg  
    ‘The money that England (UK government) earns from the students is the  
    tuition fee that they get it from the boarding schools.’

(348) **guardian**                      chizi-e                      ke        dolat-e                      Englis  
    guardian                      thing-cop                      comp    government-ez                      England  
    barâ-sh                      mohem-e  
    for.poss 3g                      importance.cop.3sg  
    ‘

(349) vaqty ke **student** vared-e English mi-sh-e  
 when comp student enter-ez England impf-become-3sg  
 az qavanin-e Englis xabar na-dâr-e  
 from law-ez England news neg-have-3sg  
 ‘When a student enters England does not know about the rules.’

(350) yek jâ **consent**, masalan ke **student** be swrate qanuni  
 one place consent like comp student in way law  
 mi-tun-e rabete-ye jensi dâshte bash-e  
 impf-can-3sg contact-ez physical have-pres-3sg  
 ‘As a consent, for example a student can have a physical relationship lawfully.’

(351) sen-i ke **student-e** digar-i mi-tun-e alcohol be-xor-e  
 age-indf comp student-ez another-indf impf-can-3sg alchol subj-drink-3sg  
 ‘An age that another student can drink alchool.’

(352) in-â hame ye **conflict-hâ-iy-e** ke vaqti yek bache  
 dem-pl all indf conflict-pl-indf-cop.3sg comp when indf kid  
 az keshvar-e xârej vared Englis mi-sh-e  
 from country-ez outside enter England impf-become-3sg  
 bâ-hâsh movâjeh mi-sh-e  
 with-3sg face impf-become-3sg  
 ‘Those are conflicts that students face when they enter the country.’

(353) **responsibility**-ye      **guardian**      in-e      ke      modâm  
responsibility-ez      guardian      det-cop.3sg      comp      always  
be      in      bache      takid      kon-e  
to      det      kid      watch      do-3sg  
‘The responsibility of that guardian is always to look after that kid.’

(354) bishtarin kâr ba **boarding school** yan **day school**-e  
most      work      with      boarding school      or      day school-cop.3sg  
‘most of work (of the guardian) is with boarding school or day school.’

(355) yek-i az darâmad-hâ-ye Englis **host family** ast  
one-indf      of      income-pl-ez      England      host family      cop.3sg  
‘Host family is one of the incomes in England.’

(356) bishtar      barâye      **student**-hâ-iy-e      ke      be  
more      for      student-pl-indf-cop.3sg      comp      to  
**day school**      mi-r-an  
day school      impf-go-3pl  
‘It is more for the students who go to the day schools.’

(357) bâbat-e      **duration**-i      ke      pish-e      unâ  
regard-ez      duration-indf      comp      next-ez      pro.3pl  
hast-an      pul      mi-gir-an  
cop-3pl      money      impg-get-3pl

‘They (host family) get money from them (students) based on the duration he stays with them.’

(358) dar tul-e sâl ba **host family** hast-an  
 in during-ez year with host family cop.3pl  
 ‘They are with the host family for the whole year.’

(359) kâmelan ba **guardian** farq dare  
 totally with guardian difference have-3sg  
 ‘It is totally different with (a) guardian.’

(360) **guardian** yek shaxs-i-e ke mi-tun-e  
 guardian indf persson-indf-cop.3sg comp impf-can-3sg  
 az aʔzâ-ye **trusted-e** **family** bash-e  
 from member-ez trusted-ez family pres-3sg  
 ‘A guardian can be a member of a trusted family.’

(361) ruz-i ke 18 sâl-etun shod **adult** be hesâb mi-r-i  
 day-indf comp 18 year-2pl become.pst adult to account impf-go-2sg  
 ‘When he becomes 18 years he is accounted as adult.’

(362) baʔzi-hâ **reading** o **writing-e** bâlâ mi-xâ-n  
 some-pl reading conj writing-ez high impf-want-3pl  
 o mʔmulan ru-ye **speaking** talâsh na-dâr-an  
 conj usually on-ez speaking effort neg-have-3pl  
 ‘some of them requires high reading and writing and do not try on speaking.’

(363) **academic** bishtar **writing** vase-shun mohem-e va **reading**  
 academic more writing for-3pl importance-ez conj reading  
 ‘For academic writing is more important than reading.’

(364) Kas-ân-i ke barâye **A Level** o **foundation** mi-â-n  
 person-pl-indf comp for A level conj foundation impf-come-3pl  
 mesle kas-ân-i-an ke baraye **master** o PhD  
 like person-pl-indf-cop.3pl comp for master conj PhD  
 mi-â-an bâyard IELTS be-d-an  
 impf-come-3pl should IELTS subj-give-3pl  
 ‘These who come to (study) A level and foundation should take IELTS like  
 those who come for master and PhD.’

(365) **foundation** 17 sâl-esh-e  
 foundation 17 year-3sg-cop.3sg  
 ‘For foundation is 17 years.’

(366) **foundation** yek s âl-e va **A level** 2 sâl-e  
 foundation one year-cop.3sg conj A level 2 years  
 ‘Foundation is a year and A level 2 years.’

(367) hatman bâyard 2 sâl **A level** be-xun-e  
 certainly should 2 years A level subj-study-3sg  
 ‘He should study A level two years.’

(368) masalan **A level, foundation** o **master** o **bachelor** be-xun-i,  
 like A level, foundation conj master conj bachelor subj-study-2sg  
 in-hâ hame bâyard IELTS be-d-an  
 dem-pl all should IELTS subj-give-3pl  
 ‘For example (if ) you study A level, foundation, master and bachelor, you  
 should have IELTS.’

(369) be in dalil ke **international boarding school**-hâ-ye Englestan  
 for this reason comp international boarding school-pl-ez England  
 ta?dâd-e bishtar-i az **student**-hâ-shun englis hast-and  
 number-ez more-indf from student-pl-poss.3pl English cop.3pl  
 ‘for the reason that international boarding schools of England, a bigger  
 member of their students are English.’

(370) vase **communicate** kardan  
 for communicate doing  
 ‘for commnucation’

(371) kas-â-iy ke tu **academia**-e balâ hast-an  
 person-pl-indf comp in academia-ez high cop.3pl  
 ‘People who are in higher education.’

(372) ye serye emtehan-hâ-ye **local**-e xud-e madare ast  
 indf some exam-pl-indf local-ez self-ez school ast



ke be swrate skype **interview** ba bache anjâm mi-sh-e  
 comp as way skype interview with kid conduct impf-become-3sg  
 ‘There are some (types) of local exams that the school itself have it for  
 interviewing the kids via Skype.’

(373) aksar-an tu-ye hamun **local examination-e** xod-eshun-e  
 more-pl in-ez same local examination-ez self-3pl-cop.3sg  
 ‘Mostly, it is their own local examination.’

(374) age **student** sâl-e dovom-e dabirestan ast  
 if student year-ez second-ez secondary school cop.3sg  
 o **CAS** az ye **boarding school** gereft-e,  
 conj CAS from indf boarding school take.pst-cop.pres.3sg  
 madam ke u **CAS** ro gereft-e  
 because comp pro.3sg CAS ddo take.pst-cop.pres.3sg  
**tier 4 students visa** ro dâr-e  
 tier 4 students visa ddo have-3sg  
 ‘If a student is in his second year of secondary school and has a CAS letter  
 from a boarding school, have tier 4 students visa.’

(375) age be-xâ-d **boarding school-esh** ro avaz  
 if subj-want-3sg boarding school-poss.3sg ddo change  
 kon-e bâ-yad ye **CAS-e** jaded ro be-gir-e  
 do-3sg should indf CAS-ez new ddo subj-get-3sg  
 ‘If he wants to change his boarding school, he should get an new CAS (letter).’

(376) pedar o madar mi-tun-an ba **family visit**  
 father conj mother impf-can-3pl with family visit  
 bache ro be-bin-an  
 kid ddo subj-see-3pl

‘The parents can visit their kids with family visit (type of visa).’

(377) jâleb in-e ke **majority-e** **student-hâ-iy** ke  
 nice this-cop.3sg comp majority-ez student-pl-indf comp  
 mi-â-n chin o rusiye-iy hast-an  
 impf-come-3pl China conj Russia-indf cop-3pl

‘What is nice is that the majority of the students are Chinese and Russians.’

(378) chand **generation** tul mi-kesh-e tâ  
 how many generation long impf-take-3sg till  
 râij be-sh-e  
 trend subj-become-3sg

‘How many generations does it take till this become a trend.’

(379) **water** mi-xâ-m  
 water impf-want-1sg

‘I want water.’

(380) shâyad                    **main reason**                    bash-e  
 probably                    main reason                    cop-3sg  
 ‘Probably it is the main reason.’

(381) **highlight**-esh                    o                    neshun                    mi-dâd  
 highlight-poss.3sg                    ddo                    show                    impf-do.pst  
 ‘It was showing the highlight.’

(382) chehâr shanbe                    mi-tun-im                    ye                    **shopping**                    be-kon-im  
 Wednesday                    impf-can-1pl                    indf                    shopping                    subj-do-1pl  
 We can do shopping on Wednesday.

(383) man-am                    **chapter**-e                    payan name-am                    tamum                    kard-am  
 pro.1sg-too                    chapter-ez                    thesis-poss.1sg                    finish                    do.1sg  
 I also finished the thesis (final) chapter.

(384) dobare    bâyard    chand                    **main idea**                    ro                    morur                    kon-am  
 again    should some                    main idea                    ddo                    revise                    do-1sg  
 ‘Again I should revise some of the main ideas.’

(385) du-tâ                    **paper**-e                    dige                    bâz                    mi-tun-am                    be-nevis-am  
 two-clf    paper-ez                    dige                    again                    impf-can-1sg                    subj-write-1sg  
 I can write two more papers.

(386) emtehan    barâye        **residency**    hatman        yâdet        bash-e  
 exam        for        residency    certainly    remember    cop-2sg  
 ‘Make sure you remember the exam for residency.’

(387) tu        **meeting-i**    ke        dâsht-im    goft-esh    ke        be in  
 in        meeting-inf    comp    have.pst-1pl    say.pst-3sg    comp    to this  
 afrâd-i        ke        **research-eshun**    shabih-e        man-e  
 person-indf    comp    research-poss.3pl    similar-ez    pro.1sg-cop.1sg  
 bâyard    be    un-â        email        be-zan-am  
 should    to        pro-1pl        email        subj-hit-1sg  
 ‘In the meeting we had, she said I should email those people who their research  
 is like mine.’

(388) hich        **break-i**        na-dâr-i  
 nothing        break-indf    neg-have-2sg  
 ‘You do not have any break.’

(389) man        omidvâr-am    ke        ta        ordibehesht    tez-am        ro  
 pro.1sg    hopeful-1sg    comp    till        March        thesis-1sg    ddo  
**submit**    kon-am  
 submit    do-1sg  
 I am hopeful to submit my thesis by March.

(390) hamin    alan    ye        **chapter**        nevesht-am  
 right    now    indf    chapter        write.pst-1sg  
 ‘Right now I wrote a chapter.’

(391) bâ        ye        **chapter**        tamum        mi-kon-id  
               with        indf        chapter        finish        impf-do-2sg  
               ‘you will finish with one (more) chapter

(392) **that**        **chapter**        xeili        zahmat        nabud  
               dem        chapter        very        hard        neg-cop.pst.3sg  
               ‘That chapter was not very hard.’

(393) man                    barname rizi        kard-e-am                    ta        **February**  
               pro.1sg                    plannning        do.pst-pres-1sg                    till        February  
               ‘I have made plan till February.’

(394) mi-x-â-m                ye serye        **assimilation**        eqdâm        kon-am  
               impf-want-1sg        indf some        assimilation        add                    do-1sg  
               ‘I want to add some assimilation.’

(395) dobare        ye        serye        **result**                    ezafe                    mi-kon-am  
               again        indf        some        result                    benefit                    impf-do-1sg  
               ‘Again I will add some (more) result.’

(396) key        **submit**                    mi-kon-i?  
               when        submit                    impf-do-2sg  
               ‘When are you going to submit?’

(397) momken-e ke in yek mâh **extend** kon-am  
possible-ez comp det one month extend do-1sg  
possibly I will extend this one month.

(398) az **February** begzar-e ta havali-ye ordibehesht  
from February pass-ez till beginning-ez march  
ke mi-xâ-m **notice** be-d-am ke **submit** kon-am  
comp impf-want-1sg notice subj-give-1sg comp submit do-1sg  
From February till the beginning of March I want to give them a notice that I  
want to submit (my thesis).‘

(399) hava sard-e va bâyard in-â ro **push** kon-im  
weather cold-ez conj should this-pl ddo push do-1pl  
‘The weather is cold, and we should push these.’

(400) ye **chapter** be-nevis-am o weekend-am **daneshga** bash-im  
indf chapter subj-write-1sg and weekend-too university cop.1pl  
‘I write a chapter and we will be at university in the weekend too.’

(401) bayad **weekend**-am kâr kon-e  
should weekend-too work do-3sg  
He should work in the weekends too.‘

(402) tu majbur-i ke hame-ye ruz-hâ ro **cover** kon-id  
pro.2sg obligate-indf comp every-ez day-pl ddo cover do-2sg

bârâye inke **deadline** dâr-id

for that deadline have-2sg

You have no choice but to cover (study) everyday because you have a deadline.'

(403) man-am age **deadline**-am nazdik bud  
pro.1sg-too if deadline-poss.1sg close cop.3sg  
shab o ruz ro qaty-e ham mi-kard-am  
night conj day ddo mix-ez together impf-do-1sg

If I have a deadline too, I was day and night studying.

(404) vaqty mi-g-am **programming** mi-kon-am  
when impf-say-1sg programming impf-do-1sg  
manjur-am ke barname-rizi be-kon-am  
oblige-cop.1sg comp schedule subj-do-1sg

When I do programming I am obliged to schedule it.

(405) kalamata-a-e englisi barâ-m rahat-tar-e  
word-pl-ez English for-me easy-compr-cop.3sg  
masalan **halogenation** o **delusion**  
for example halogenation conj delusion  
'English words are easier for me, for example halogenation o delusion.'

(406) masalan vaqty mi-g-am **halogenation** xeily bar-am  
for-example when impf-say-1sg halogenation very for-me

râhat-tar-e

easy-compr-cop.3sg

‘For example, it is easier for me to say halegenation.’

(407) dâr      an      kâr-eshun      ro      **publish**      mi-kon-an  
in      that      work-poss.3pl      ddo      publish      impf-do-3pl

‘In that (society) they publish their works.’

(408) masalan      jameʔe      in      **research community**      ro  
for-example      society d      em      research community      ddo  
mi-bord-an jolo  
impf-take-3pl      further

‘The society were developing this research community.’

(409) aksar-e      kâr-hâ      **publish**      shod-e  
more-ez      work-pl      publish      become-3sg

‘Most of the works have been published.’

(410) tu      **subject-esh**      ro      be-hem      be-gu  
pro.2sg      subject-3sg      ddo      to-3sg      subj-say 2sg

‘You tell me the subject.’

(411) ye      **six pack-e**      maʔmuli-ye  
indf      six pack-ez      normal-cop.3sg

‘It is a normal six pack.’



(412) *pesar-â maʔmulan tu-ye business-e family-shun kâr*  
*boy-pl usually in-ez business-ez family-poss.3pl work*  
*mi-kon-an*  
*impf-work-3pl*  
 ‘Boys usually work in their family business.’

(413) *in-â in business ro zad-and*  
*they-pl dem business ddo hit-3pl*  
 ‘They set up this business.’

(414) *vase business del mi-suzun-an*  
*for business heart impf-burn-3pl*  
 ‘They take care of the business.’

(415) *man ye level-am az un-â bâlâ-tar-e*  
*pro.1sg indf level-too from they-pl higher-compr-cop.3sg*  
 ‘I am one level higher than them too.’

(416) *negâh kardan-e intentional-i o unintentional-i*  
*watch doing-ez intentional-indf and unintentional-indf*  
*ro mi-fahm-am*  
*ddo impf-understand-1sg*

‘I understand intentional and unintentional watching.’

(417) **that gym**        xeili    xube  
dem gym        very    good-cop.3sg  
‘That gym is very good.’

(418) **world-e**        kuchek-i-ye  
world-ez        small-indf-cop.3sg  
‘It is a small world.’

(419) pas        farda        **gym-et**        ro        ?vaz        kon-i  
after    tomorrow    gym-poss.2sg        ddo    change        do.2sg  
‘The day after tomorrow change your gym.’

(420) aslan    na-mi-zâr-an        **concentrate**    kon-am  
actually neg-impf-let-3pl        concentrate    do-1sg  
‘Actually they dont let me to concentrate.’

(421) ye        **role model,**    ye **character**    ye **person-i**        mesle Bill Gates  
indf    role model    indf character    indf person-indf    like    Bill Gates  
‘A role model, character and someone like Bill Gates.’

(422) **celebrity-e**        morde-?alâqat        ki-ye  
celebrity-ez        favourite        who-cop.3sg  
‘Who is your favourite celebrity.’

(423) bâ        **personality**-ish        âshnâ-id?  
with    personality-poss.3sg   familiar-cop.2sg  
'Are you familiar with their personalities.'

(424) **bibliography**-shun faqat chiz-hâ-i-ye        ke        digaran goft-an  
bibliography-poss.3spl   only    thing-pl.indf-ez   comp others   say.pst.3pl  
'Thier bibliography's is that what other people have narrated it.'

(425) **bibliography**-e        âdam-â-ye        bozorg        be-xun  
bibliography-ez        people-pl-ez    big        subj-read.2sg  
'Read famous people's bibliography.'

(426) **this**        mozu?        xeili    tul        keshid  
dem    topicvery        very    long    take.pst.3sg  
'This topic took so long.'

(427) xeily        **boring**        bud  
very    boring        cop.pst.3sg  
'It was boring.'

(428) rasty, barâye **lawyer cancel** kard-am  
in fact    for        lawyer cancel   do.pst.1sg  
'I actually canceled the lawyer.'

(429) **lawyer** ro **cancel** kard-am

lawyer ddo cancel do.pst-1sg

I cancel the lawyer (meeting).'

(430) **cancel** kard-am o be-hesh goft-am ke kâr

cancel do.pst-1sg conj subj-3sg say.pst-1sg comp work

dâr-am farad

have-1sg tomorrow

'I canceled it and told him I have work to do tomorrow.'

(431) **business plan** o anjâm na-mi-d-e qeymat-esh **500** pond-e

business plan ddo conduct neg-impf-do-3sg price-poss.3sg

500 pound-cop.3sg

'He doesn't do the business plan, so the price is 500 pounds.'

(432) hâlâ xud-esh-am ye **pricelist** dâr-e in **lawyer-e**

now sel-3sg-too indef pricelist have-3sg this lawyer

'Now this lawyer has a pricelist.'

(433) tebq-e un **pricelist** hame-ye **item**-hâ qeymat gozâri kard-e

according-ez dem pricelist all-ez item-pl price put do-3sg

'According the pricelist, a price has been for every item.'

(434) barâye man **risk-e**

for pro.1sg risk-cop.3sg

‘It is a risk for me.’

(435) yek **business plan** barâ-m be-neviss-e

indf business plan for-me subj-write-cop.3sg

‘(I want him) to write me a business plan.’

(436) goft ke tu **business plan** ro mi-nevis-i

say.pst.3sg comp pro.2sg business plan ddo impf-wrtie-2sg

‘He said that you are writing business plan.’

(437) in aqa mi-ge **business plan** ro na-mi-nevis-am

this gentelman impf-say-3sg business plan ddo neg-impf-write-3sg

‘This gentleman says he doesn’t write business plan.’

(438) faqat **application** mi-xâ-d por kon-e

only application impf-want-3sg fill do-3sg

‘He only wants to fill applications.’

(439) mi-g-e ke ye **business plan** o **an application**

impf-say-3sg comp indf business plan subj an application

mi-sh-e **1000** pond

impf-become-3sg 1000 pound

‘He says a business plan and an application is 1000 pounds.’

(440) be-ru    bâ    **supervisor**-et    sohbat kon  
 subj-go with supervisor-poss.2sg talk do.2sg  
 ‘Go and talk to your supervisor.’

(441) man    bâyard    be-r-am    **market**  
 pro.1sg should subj-go-1sg market  
 ‘I need to go to the Market.’

(442) man ye **chicken** o salad be-zan-am  
 pro.1sg.    indf chicken conj salad subj-hit-1sg  
 ‘I want to have a chicken and Salad.’

(443) football    indaq    **boring**    bud  
 football that much boring cop.pst-3sg  
 ‘The football was very boring.’

(444) man-am    etefâqan    **gym**    raft-am  
 pro.1sg actually gym go.pst-1sg  
 I actually went to the gym.’

(445) Jo **gym**-e mâ **sign up** kard-e  
 Jo gym-e pro.1pl sign up do-cop.3sg  
 ‘Jo has signed up in our gym.’

(446) goft-e bud        ke                **commute**        mi-kon-e  
                  say-cop.pst.3sg comp                commute        impf-do-3sg  
                  ‘He said that he would commute.’

(447) xun-ash                baqal-e                **rail station-e**  
                  house-poss.3sg next-ez                rail station-cop.3sg  
                  ‘His house is next to the rail station.’

(448) ye                **flat-e**                dige                gereft  
                  indf        flat-ez                another                take.pst.3sg  
                  ‘He rented another flat.’

(449) hâlâ        man-am    ye        fekr                be        in        **gym**        be-kon-am  
                  now        pro.1sg    indf think-ez        to        dem        gym        subj-do-1sg  
                  ‘I need to think about the gym (shall I go or not).’

(450) age                **alternative**        dâshte-bash-i  
                  if                alternative        have-2sg  
                  ‘If you have an alternative.’

(451) **gym**-emun        ta        10        bâz-e  
                  **gym**-poss.3pl    till        10        open-cop.3sg  
                  ‘our gym is open till 10 (pm).’

(452) âxar-e **session** ya **session**-e aval-e sobh be-r-am **gym**  
 end-ez session or session-ez first-ez morning subj-go-1sg gym  
 ‘At the early morning or late evening I am going to the gym.’

(453) un **rigidness** ro âdam na-bâyad dâshte-bâsh-e  
 dem rigidness ddo human neg-should have-3sg  
 ‘Someone should not have that rigidness.’

(454) in-am mi-g-e ke enqad **snack** xord-am sir-am  
 this-too impf-say-3sg comp that much snack eat.pst-1sg full-1sg  
 She says, she has eaten too much snack that she is full.

(455) **topic** be-hem be-d-e  
 topic subj-1sg subj-give-2sg  
 ‘give me topic.’

(456) barnâme **fix** shod  
 schedule fix become.pst  
 ‘The schedule got fixed.’

(457) panj-shanbe xuna-ye Mani ye drink o **takeaway**  
 Thursday home-ez Mani indf drink conj takeaway  
 mi-yâr-im  
 Impf-bring-1pl  
 ‘On Thursday we will have drinks and takeaway in Mani’s house.’



(458) panj-shanbe      **submit**      mi-kon-am

Thursday      submit      indf-do-1sg

I will submit it on Thursday.

(459) inshala ke zud-tar **submit** mi-kon-i

inshala comp      soon-compr      submit impf-do-2sg

Inshala (with God's will) you will submit it sonner.'

(460) be-r-im      ye      **topic-e**      jaded

subj-go-1pl      indf      topic-ez      new

'Lets start a new topic.'

(461) **unlucky**      bud-an

unlucky      cop.pst.1sg

'I was unlucky.'

(462) man      message      dâd-am      o      be-hesh      goft-am

pro.1sg      message      give.pst-1sg      conj      subj-3sg      say.pst-1sg

az      **uncle-et**      na-porsid-i

from      uncle-poss.2sg      neg-ask-2sg

(463) az-shun      ba?id      nist      bâ      **culture-i**      ke      dâr-an

from-3pl      far      neg.cop3sg      with      culture-indf      comp      have-3pl

'It is expected from them according to their culture.'

## B. Phrasal insertions

(464) emruz                  raft-i                  **library?**

today                  go.PST-2SG          library

‘Did you go to the library today?’

(465) **station**                  bayal-e                  xuna-sh-e

station                  close-EZ                  house-POSS-COP.3SG

‘The station is close to his house.’

(466) vaytike                  **students**                  vâred-e                  inglis                  mi-sh-e  
when                  students                  enter-EZ                  England                  IMPF-become-3SG

‘When students enter England’

(467) **British airways**                  ye                  kam                  gerun-e  
British airways                  INDF                  little                  expensive-COP.3SG

‘British airways is a bit expensive.’

(468) Age                  âdam                  mi-xâ-d                  be-r-e                  lab-e  
daryâ  
if                  human                  IMPF-want-3SG                  SUBJ-go-3SG                  edge-EZ  
sea  
hâl                  kon-e,                  bâyad                  be-re                  **private beach**  
enjoy                  do-3SG                  should                  SUBJ-go-3SG                  private beach  
‘If someone wants to enjoy at the sea should go to a private beach.’

(469) ru be ru-ye      **Lebanese restaurant** kabâb-esh      kheily khush  
 maza-s  
 opposite-EZ      Lebanese restaurant      kebab-POSS.3SG      very delicious      taste-  
 cop.3SG  
 ‘It is opposite to the Lebanese restaurant and it kabab is very delicious.’

(470) hotel Meriden **very nice private beach**      dar-e  
 hotel Meriden very nice private beach      have-3sg  
 ‘Meridien Hotel has a very nice private beach.’

(471) Brighton **mini London**-e  
 Brighton mini London-cop.3sg  
 ‘Brighton is a mini London.’

(472) un      doxtari ro      ke      be-hesh      goft-im      **happy birthday**  
 that      girl      DDO COMP      to-PRO.3SG      say.PST-1PL      happy birthday  
 ‘The girl who we told her happy birthday.’

(473) **poor us**      yazâ-hâ-sh      xeily *delicious*- an  
 poor us      food-PL-POSS.PRO.3SG      very      delicious –COP.3PL  
 ‘poor us, the foods are very delicious.’

(474) in      **sick people**      bâ      *family*      mi-r-an      landan  
 DET      sick people      with      family      IMPF-go-3PL      London  
 ‘These sick people go to London with their families.’

(475) chekâr      mi- xây      be-kon-i      **laser-e skin**      o?  
 what      IMPF-want 2SG      SUBJ-do-2SG      laser- EZ skin DDO  
 ‘What do you want to do with (a) skin laser?’

(476) *disagree*      bâsh-i      bâ      **the person**  
 disagree      COP-2SG      with      the person

‘You have to disagree with the person.’

(477) **his**      **lifestyle-esh**      avaz      shod  
 his      lifestyle-POSS.3SG      change      become.PST.3SG

‘his lifestyle changed.’

(478) mi-g-e      ke      **an application**      o      ye      *business plan*      mi-sh-e 1000  
 pond

IMPF-say-3SG COMP an application CONJ INDF business plan IMPF-become-  
 3SG 1000£

‘He says that an application and a business plan costs £1000.’

(479) Tenerife      bâyard be-r-im      **weather and price**      kheili xub-e  
 Tenerife      must subj-go-1pl      weather and price      very good-  
 cop.3sg

‘We should go to Tenerife the weather and price is very good.’

(480) hata      **my niece-am**  
 even      my niece-POSS.1SG  
 ‘even my nice too’

(481) **his**      **lifestyle-esh**      avaz      shod  
 his      lifestyle-POSS.3SG      change      become.PST.3SG

‘his lifestyle changed.’

(482) **Palm private beach-esh**      ?âli-e  
 Palm private beach-POSS.3SG      perfect-COP.3SG

‘Palm (hotel)’s private beach is amazing.’

(483) **portion**-esh                      bozorg-e  
 portion-POSS.3SG              big-COP.3SG

‘His portion is big’

(484) **The deadline**-esh                      key-e  
 deadline-POSS.3SG              when-COP.3SG

‘When is his deadline.’

(485) **regular customers**-hâ-m                      bishtar                      xarej-i-an  
 regular customers-PL-POSS.1SG              more                      outside-DET-COP.3PL

‘My regular customers are more non-Iranians.’

(486) ye              seriye                      kas-â-y                      dâr-im                      ke  
 naqsh-e              INDF              some                      person-PL-DET                      have-1PL  
 RELPRO              role-EZ                      **local guardian**                      o              bazi              mi-kon-  
 an

local guardian                      DDO              play              IMPF-do-1PL

‘we have some people who play the role of local guardian.’

(487) qesmat-e              **weight training**                      bud-and  
 section-EZ              weight training                      be.PST-3PL

‘They were in (the) weight training section.’

(488) tu              ham              az              **hand luggage**-e                      man              estefâde                      kon  
 2PRO              too              from              hand luggage-EZ                      1PRO              benefit                      do.2sg

‘You also get benefit of my hand luggage.’ ‘You also (can) use my hand luggage.’

(489) **disagree**      bâsh-i      bâ      **the person**  
 disagree      COP-2SG      with      the person  
 ‘You have to disagree with the person.’

(490) masalan      da morde      **the history of other commissions**      be-nevis-i  
 for example      in about      the history of other commissions      SUBJ-  
 write-2SG  
 ‘For example, write about the history of other commissions.’

(491) tu      **research main body**      tozih      dâd-am  
 in      research main body      explain      give.PST-1SG  
 ‘I explained it in the research main body.’

(492) bâ      **child students visa**      pedar      o      madar      ham      mi-tun-an  
 with      child students visa      father      CONJ      mother      too      IMPF-can-3PL  
 be-yâ-n      bache      ro      be-bin-an  
 SUBJ-come-3PL      kid      DDO      SUBJ-see-3PL  
 ‘With the child students visa even the parents can come over to visit the kid.’

(493) shab      tuye      **match of the day**      tamâshâ      mi-kon-am  
 night      in      match of the day      watch      IMPF-do-1SG  
 ‘Tonight I will the watch it in match of the day.’

(494) shanbe      bâyard      be-ra-m      *London*      **facial**      dâr-am  
 Saturday      should      SUBJ-go-1SG      london      facial      have-1SG  
 dar      **Harley Medical Group**  
 in      Harley Medical Group  
 ‘On Saturday I need to go to London, I have a facial in Harley Medical Group.’

(495) chand-tâ      **articles**      xund-am  
                  some-CLA      articles      read.PST.1SG

‘I read some articles’

(496) faqat    **six people**  
                  only    six people  
                  ‘only 6 people’

(497) **the bread**    in      lab-â-sh      tafâvote  
                  the bread      DET    lip-PL-POSS.3SG      different  
                  ‘The bread, it’s sides are different.’

(498) **assistantship**    xeily    saxt-e  
                  assistantship    very    hard-COP.3SG  
                  ‘assistantship is very hard’

(499) visa-shun      **tier 4 child students visa**      ast  
                  visa-POSS.3PL    tier 4 child students visa      COP.3SG  
                  ‘their visa is (a) tier 4 child students visa.’

(500) be-r-im      bar-e      unja    **roof-top garden-e**  
                  SUBJ-go-1PL    bar-INDF      there    roof-top garden-COP.3SG  
                  ‘let’s go to the bar, it is a roof top garden.’

(501) **private yacht**      ye      kam    gerun-e  
                  private yacht      INDF    little    expensive-COP.3SG  
                  ‘Private yacht is a bit expensive.’

(502) **two to three advantages** ro *pick up* mi-kon-i  
 two to three disadvantages DDO pick up IMPF-do-2SG

‘You pick up two to three disadvantages’

(503) ehtemâlan ye **local guardian** ro lâzem dâri-d  
 perhaps INDEF local guardian DDO need have-2PL

‘Perhaps you need a local guardian.’

(504) madam ke un CAS gerefte va **tier 4 child**  
**students visa**

as long as PRO.3SG CAS get.PSTP.3SG CONJ tier 4 child  
 students visa

dâr-e mi-tun-e unja be-mun-e  
 have-3SG IMPF-can-3SG there SUBJ-stay-3SG

‘As long as he has got CAS (letter) and has tier 4 students visa he can stay there.’

(505) **forty minutes** mâ ro goft-an beshin  
 forty minutes PRO.1PL DDO tell.PST.3SG sit1PL

‘They told us to sit (and wait) for 40 minutes’

(506) Sobh bâyard ?âzeme in doxtar be-sha-m ba?d-esh **continue**  
**writing**

tomorrow must go INDF girl SUBJ-become-1SG later-PRO-3SG continue  
 writing

‘tomorrow (morning) I must go to (see) that girl, (and) after that, continue writing.’



(507) un chiz-hâ-iy [ke ehsâs kard-am [**ke make sense va whatever**]] those thing-PL-INDF COMP feel do.PST-1SG COMP make sense  
CONJ whatever

‘those things I thought make sense and whatever’

(508) baʔd goft-an ke **change location**  
later say.PST-3PL COMP change the location  
‘Later they said they would change the location.’

(509) Englis-hâ az ghabl goft-an **to get shuttle**  
English-PL from before say.PST.3PL to get shuffle  
‘From the beginning the English said they would get the shuttle.’

(510) bezâr komak-et kon-am **to buy the tickets**  
let help- PRO.2SG do-1SG to buy the tickets  
‘Let me help you to buy the tickets.’

(511) yaʔni **transfer book** kard-im  
mean transfer book do.PST-1PL  
‘It means that we booked the transfer.’

(512) mâ **table reserve** kard-im  
1PL table reserve do.PST.1PL  
‘We reserved a table.’

(513) un hafte *weekend-e* kheili xub-i dâsht-im **so sunny**  
DEM week weekend very good-DET have.PST-1PL so sunny  
‘The other week we had a good and so sunny weekend.’

(514) hamishe in-jur-im **very drowsy**  
always DET-sort-COP.1SG very drowsy  
‘I am always (a) very drowsy sort (of person).’

(515) niece-et                      **so cute-e**  
 niece-POSS.2SG              so cute-COP.3SG  
 ‘Your niece is so cute.’

(516) xeili    khub-e              vali    *BBC* **so hard-e**  
 very    good-COP.3SG CONJ    *BBC* so hard-COP.3SG  
 ‘BBC is very good but so hard (to get the job).’

(517) Cambridge    **so good-e**  
 Cambridge    so good-COP.3SG  
 ‘Cambridge is so good.’

(518) essay-hâ-m    **very difficult-an**              dar mord-e    *maritime industry-e*  
*Iran-e*  
 essay-PL-1SG    very difficult-COP.3SG about-EZ    maritime industry-EZ Iran-  
 COP.3SG  
 ‘My essays are very difficult, they are about the maritime industry of Iran.’

(519) cherâ    mokalama-t                      enqad              **deep and personal-e**  
 why    conversation-POSS.2SG              that much              deep and personal-  
 COP.3SG  
 ‘Why is your conversation so deep and personal?’

(520) are, un              **younger than me**  
 yes, PRO.3SG    younger than me  
 ‘Yes, she is younger than me.’

(521) na-mishe              goft              sard-e              vali    **a little bit**  
 NEG-can              say.PST.3SG    cold-COP.3SG CONJ    a little bit  
 ‘It is not cold but a little bit.’

(522) in dokhtar-e **from china**  
 DET girl-DET from china  
 ‘the girl from china’

(523) daram ye maqale mi-nevis-am **about Kubaneh women**  
 PRES.PROG.1SG INDF article IMPF-write-1SG about Kubaneh women  
 ‘I am writing an article about Kubaneh women.’

(524) cheqadr **in details** mi-r-i be in pesare  
 how.much in details IMPF-go-2SG to DEM boy  
 ‘You go into a lot of detail about this boy.’

(525) xub ye tur-ish mi-kon-im **for an hour**  
 well INDF type-3SG IMPF-do-1SG for an hour  
 ‘Well, we will handle it for an hour.’

(526) râjeb-e **time-esh near 45 minutes** mâ ro goft-an  
 be-shin  
 about-EZ time-POSS.3SG near 45 minutes 1PL.PRO DDO say.PST-3SG  
 SUBJ-sit  
 ‘About the time, we sat near 45 minutes.’

(527) vali **in my view,** baʔd nazar-e xodet o toye **conclusion**  
 mi-g-i  
 CONJ in my view later opinion-EZ yourself DDO in conclusion IMPF-  
 tell-1SG  
 ‘but in my view, later you tell your opinion in conclusion.’

(528) **for me,** tozih dad-am dar mord-e **writer**  
 for me, explain give.PST-1SG inabout-EZ writer  
 ‘For me, I explained about the writer.’

(529) **basically the prince** mi-khâ-d **gym** be-zan-e  
 basically the prince IMPF-want-2SG gym SUBJ-hit 2SG  
 ‘Basically, the prince wants to open a gym.’

(530) **already** chehâar hezâr-tâ dâr-am  
 already four thousand-CLF have-1SG  
 ‘I already have four thousand words.’

(531) man **already** unja did-am dust-a-m mi-g-an  
 1SG.PRO already there see.PST.1SG friend-PL-POSS.1SG IMPF-say-  
 3PL  
 ‘I saw my friends there already said.’

(532) **once a month** mi-ra-m restorânt  
 once a month IMPF-go-1SG restaurant  
 ‘I am going to restaurant once a month.’

(533) man **tomorrow** shâm mi- xâ-m bâ dust-â-m  
 1SG.pro tomorrow dinner IMPF-want-1SG with friend-PL-  
 1SG.POSS  
 be-ra-m birun  
 SUBJ-go-1SG out  
 ‘Tomorrow I am going to go out with my friends for dinner.’

(534) xub mi-dun-i bastagi dar-e **sometimes**  
 well impf-know-2sg depend have-cop.3sg sometimes  
 ‘Well, you know it depends sometimes.’

(535) xub plan **as usual**  
 good plan as usual  
 ‘Good plan as usual.’

(536) har vaght man bâ to inj-am **always**  
*rice*

any time 1SG.PRO with 2SG.PRO here-COP.1SG always  
 rice

‘Whenever we are here, (you) always (ask for) rice.’

(537) **actually, the point is,** kashk ba bademjun dar-am mi-mir-am  
 bara-sh

actually the point is curd conj aubergine have-1sg impf-die-1sg  
 for-3sg

‘Actually the point is I am dying for curd with aubergine.’

(538) **one by one** âvord-an hame ro  
 one by one bring.PST.1SG all DDO

‘They brought them one by one.’

(539) tu chaspid-e bud-i be chahâr divar-i **and I am**  
**studying a**

PRO.2SG stick-PSTP COP-PST-2SG to four wall-INDF and I am  
 studying a

**mortgage course**

mortgage course.

‘You are totally free and I am studying a mortgage course.’

(540) **he brings his equipments** va man anjâm mi-d-am

he brings his equipment CONJ 1SG.PRO do IMPF-give-1SG

‘He brings his equipment and I do the training.’

(541) xeily âdam ziâd-e vali **it is very competitive**  
 very person much-COP.3SG CONJ it is very competitive  
 ‘There are many applicants and it is very competitive.’

(542) pas barâye las fegas –ham bâyard visa be-gir-i vali **I need to get to Miami**  
 then to Las Vegas- too have visa SUBJ-get- 2SG but I need to get to Miami  
 ‘I also need a visa to get to Las Vegas, but I need to get to Miami.’

(543) inja soltâni-sh ?âly-e vali **ask them to remove the rice**  
 here soltani-pro.3SG perfect-COP.3SG but ask them to remove the rice  
 ‘The Soltani dish here is very good but ask them to remove the rice.’

(544) ye ?ede goft-an ke in xub-e vali **I decided to go to Kevin**  
 DET group say.PST.3PL COMP this good-COP.2SG CONJ I decided to go to Kevin  
 ‘Some people recommended him but I decided to go to Kevin.’

(545) **I have not been to Macara** vali mi-bin-am ke xub-e  
 I have not been to Macara CONJ IMPF-see-1SG COMP good-COP.3SG  
 ‘I have not been to Macara but it is really good.’

(546) **I am quite fussy** vali inja sultani-sh ?âly-e  
 I am quite fussy CONJ here Sultani-POSS.3SG superb-COP.3SG  
 ‘I am quite fussy but the Sultani here is superb.’

(547) fardâ mi- xâ- m be- ra-m morocco **but it is quite expensive**

tomorrow IMPF-want-1SG SUBJ-go-1SG morocco but it is quite expensive

‘Tomorrow I want to go to morocco but it is quite expensive.’

(548) dah sâl ba ham-and **but they do not get married at the end**

ten year with together-COP.3PL but they do not get married at the end

‘The spend ten years together but they do not get married at the end.’

### C. Clausal insertions

(549) Dâst-am belit-e las fegas o mi-gereft-am **that** Sâyer goft maman-esh mi-a-d

(550) mâ be Europe chekâr kon-im shall I go and print the tickets  
 pro.1sg about Europe what do-1pl then shall I go and print the tickets  
 ‘What shall we do about Europe then? Shall I go and print the tickets?’

(551) etefaqaan library xubtar-e be xâter-e in-ke tu  
 xune actually library better-COP.3SG for reason-EZ this-  
 COMP at home **I just want to sleep**

I just want to sleep

‘Actually, the library is better, because at home I just want to sleep.’

(552) be naf?-esh-e mâmân-esh o  
 na-yâr-e  
 to advantage-POSS-COP.3SG mother-POSS.3SG DDO NEG-  
 bring-3SG

**because it will be more expensive**

because it will be more expensive

‘She is better not to bring her mom because it will be more expensive.’

(553) hâlâ be-bin-am chi mishe **because it is a bit busy for me at that time**

now SUBJ-see-1SG what COP.3SG because it is a bit busy for at that time

‘let me see what I can do because it is a bit busy for me at that time.’

(554) yâde bachegiâm oftâd- am **because I used to live there**

remember childhood fall.PST-1SG because I used to live there

‘The city reminded me of my childhood because I used to live there.’

(555) barâ-m saxt-e ke be-ra-m **I am really tired**

for-1SG hard-COP COMP SUBJ-go-1SG I am really tired

‘I cannot go (because) I am really tired.’

(556) we do not need to go on diet alân in kheili xush maza-s

we do not have to go on diet now this very delicious-

COP.3SG

‘We do not need to go on diet now (because) this is very delicious

(557) dust pesar-esh mi-yâ-d Brighton ba?d-esh-am **they go to London**

friend boy-POSS.3SG IMPF-come-3SG Brighton after-3SG-too they go to London

‘Her boyfriend comes to Brighton then they go to London.’



(558) man                    vâqean                    movâfegh-am    ke                    **we have to do it**  
 pro.1SG                    actually                    agree-1SG      COMP                    we have to do it  
 ‘I actually agree (that) we have to do it.’

(559) mi-g-am                    **vâqean**                    **we have to go on a diet**  
 IMPF-say-1SG    actually                    we have to go on a diet  
 ‘Actually, I am saying we have to go on a diet’.

(560) landan    farq                    dar-e                    ke                    **London’s every single night is really busy**  
 London    difference                    have-3SG    COMP    London’s every single night is really busy  
 busy  
 ‘London is different, where every single night is really busy.’

(561) dige    barnâme-hâ-iy                    dâsht-im                    **so we were like a bit stuck**  
 again    plan-PL-INDF                    have.PST-3SG    so we were like a bit stuck.  
 ‘We had plans so we were like a bit stuck.’

(562) **you have to go to London**    so    unâ                    bâyard    hazina-t                    o  
 be-d-an  
 you have to go to London                    so 3PL.PRO    should    fund-POSS.2SG DDO SUBJ-give-2SG  
 ‘You have to go to london so they have to fund you (pay for your transportation.)’

(563) cheqadr                    xoshkel-e                    **we have to start**  
 how much                    beautiful-cop-3sg                    we have to start  
 ‘That is delicious (so) we have to start (to eat).’

(564) aval    dust    pesar-esh                    mi-â-d                    Brighton    ba?d **they go to London?**  
 First    friend    boy-poss.3sg    impf-come-3sg    Brighton    then they do to London?

‘Is her boyfriend come to Brighton first then they go to London?’

- (565) Mandana âxer-e August tavalod-esh-e **so let’s go to Shard**  
Mandana end-EZ August birthday-POSS-COP.3SG so let’s go to Shard  
‘End of August is Mandan’s birthday so let’s go to Shard.’

- (566) to khodet ro bishtar mi-shenas-i pas  
PRO.2SG yourself DDO better IMPF-know-2SG CONJ

**do not look at them**

do not look at them

‘You know yourself better so do not look at them.’

- (567) goft **what a charlatan**  
say.PST.3SG what a charlatan  
‘He said what a charlatan!’